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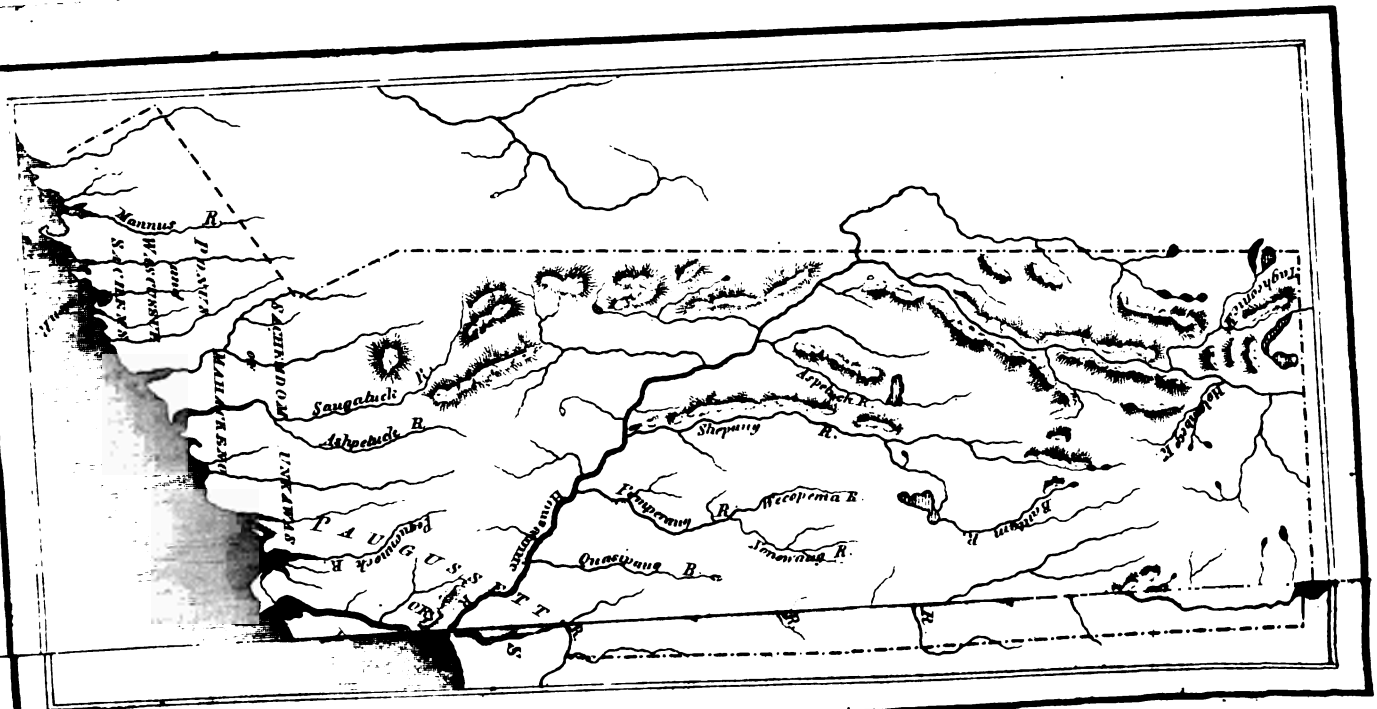
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HISTORY

OF THE

INDIANS OF CONNECTICUT

FROM THE

EARLIEST KNOWN PERIOD

TO 1850.

By JOHN W. De FOREST.

PUBLISHED WITH THE SANCTION OF THE

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

"Our inheritance is turned to strangers, our houses to aliens. We are orphans and fatherless, our mothers are as widows. The elders have ceased from the gate, the young men from their music. The joy of our hearts is ceased; our dance is turned into mourning."—LAMENTATIONS, CHAPTER V.

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TESTIMONIAL FROM THE CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

THIS work having been submitted in manuscript to the Historical Society of Connecticut, for their scrutiny and sanction, it was referred by the Society in February last, to a Committee consisting of Prof. James L. Kingsley, Rev. Leonard Bacon and Mr. Edward C. Herrick.

At a meeting held September 3d, 1850, the Committee presented the following report, and the recommendations therein contained were adopted by the Society.

The Committee appointed February 5th, 1850, by the Connecticut Historical Society, to examine a manuscript history of the Indian tribes of Connecticut, prepared by Mr. John W. De Forest, and to give an opinion whether it should be published under the patronage of the Society, would respectfully report:

That they have read the manuscript referred to, with as much attention as time and circumstances would allow, and find in it abundant evidence of labor and research, and a collection of facts which they think highly important for a full elucidation of the history of the State. They have not thought it necessary to look at the authorities on which Mr. De Forest relies for his statements, as it is understood that he wishes to be considered alone responsible for the facts and opinions detailed in his work.

The Committee recommend that the Society should encourage Mr. De Forest's undertaking, and permit his work to be published under their patronage.

J. L. KINGSLEY,
LEONARD BACON,
E. C. HERRICK.

NEW HAVEN, Conn., March 22d, 1850.

20 MAY 02

PREFACE.

The advice of friends whose judgment I highly respect induces me to give a brief account of my course of investigations with regard to the subject treated in the present volume, and of the authorities upon which the narrative principally relies. It was no intention of becoming an author, but a real love of the subject, which first led me to pay attention to the story of the aborigines of Connecticut. As was natural, therefore, I first read for information those works, which, being the most common, were most likely to fall in my way. The most important of these were, Trumbull's History of Connecticut, Barber's Historical Collections of Connecticut, and Thatcher's Indian Biographies. When, however, I had once formed the resolution of writing upon the subject, I could not, of course, be satisfied, without going back to the sources from whence these authors drew their narrations. A large portion of these sources were kindly opened to me in the Library of Yale College; and, with my writing materials constantly before me, I commenced availing myself of their contents. Having gone through with the printed matter which I found there, having read Winthrop and Hazard and their host of associate worthies as closely as seemed to be necessary, I proceeded to Hartford and commenced with the shelves full of manuscript volumes preserved in the office of the Secretary of State. The Colonial Records, the State Records, the Papers on Indians, on Towns and Lands and on Ecclesiastical Affairs, although they occupied me a long time, were at last finished. Next followed a

series of journeys, in which, visiting the primitive townships of the State, I made extracts or abstracts of whatever existed in their records pertaining to the aborigines. This having been accomplished, I considered every source of information exhausted; and from the materials now lying before me began to arrange and write out my history. Many new examinations and additions, however, were made after I had commenced my narrative; and, on the whole, the labor of collection, although it may not have equalled, has fallen not far behind, the labor of composition. It is upon the foundation laid in this manner that the superstructure contained in the present volume has been erected. It may be interesting, however, to students of Connecticut history, to receive a more particular account of the scope and value of the various works whose authority on this subject is of the most importance.

The Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, now amounting to thirty volumes, is the first which I shall notice. This admirable repository, the best of its kind in the United States, consists, to a considerable extent, of reprints of old and rare historical works relating to the early ages of our country, and particularly of New England. In this precious library of antiques are to be found, New England's Plantation, and Roger Williams' Key into the Indian Languages, from which I have drawn my brief account of the ancient appearance and productions of Connecticut. In the Key also, and in Gookin's Historical Collections of the Indians of New England, likewise preserved in the same repository, may be found most of my materials for the sketch of the people, their customs, language and institutions.

The position and relative importance of the various tribes is too apparent from the whole course of Connecticut history to need much citation of authorities; yet do I think that I have discovered a number of new facts with regard to these subjects by an examination of the ancient records of the towns.

For my account of the intercourse, whether peaceable or hostile, between the Indians of Connecticut and the Dutch, I am indebted

to O'Callaghan's minute and admirable History of the Colony of New Netherland. For the early dealings between the Indians and the English, the principal and the best authority is the well known Journal of John Winthrop, as presented in the admirable edition of Savage. Winthrop carries us from 1630 to 1649, with general accuracy, and with the impartial spirit of a Christian gentleman. The Pequot war is related by Winthrop, who was a cotemporary, and by John Mason, John Underhill, P. Vincent and Lyon Gardiner, who were all actors in the struggle. Of these narrations, Mason's, especially when taken in conjunction with Prince's introduction to it, is by far the fullest, the best written and the most satisfactory. Leaving the Pequot war we depend once more principally upon Winthrop, until the second volume of Hazard's Collection of State Papers takes us up in 1643, and does not fairly set us down until 1678. Potter's Early History of Narragansett, also, is not to be forgotten, as affording, especially in its appendix, much interesting matter concerning the Indians After the period when Hazard closes, the printed materials for aboriginal history become much less voluminous, and, in their nature, much more fragmentary, than before. Those of which I have most availed myself are, Trumbull's History of Connecticut, Barber's Historical Collections of Connecticut, Miss Caulkin's History of Norwich, M'Clure's Life of Wheelock and the Memoirs of Mrs. Sarah L. Smith. To these may be added Morse's Report on the Indian Tribes, Dwight's Travels, Tracy's History of American Missions, Allen's Biographical Dictionary, the American Archives and the printed volumes of Executive Documents issued by the general government.

Although I have hitherto hardly alluded to the manuscript materials which exist, yet are they deserving of the most serious attention. The only private authority of this kind worthy of note is the Itinerary, and some of the other papers, of President Stiles of Yale College, all of which are now preserved in the library of that institution of which he was once the chief officer. That part

which is the result of the President's own observations is accurate and valuable; but the remainder is far from reliable, as depending too much on the reminiscences of aged men and women, unaccustomed to making statements for publication, and within whose recollections the slender numbers of the Indians multiplied as wonderfully as the two buckram men of Falstaff.

Of public papers the records of the ancient towns are highly important; not only as determining the positions and connections of the tribes, but as narrating the time and manner of the sales by which they parted with their lands. Another set of papers, of considerable importance, is a number of Indian petitions and a Defense of the Colony, referring to the long law suit between the Mohegans and Connecticut, and lately brought from England and deposited in the Yale College Library.

But by far the most extensive and important range of manuscripts is to be found in the office of the Secretary of State at Hartford. The Colonial Records, consisting of eleven volumes, and extending from 1636 to 1676, contain a large quantity of matter. The twenty-seven volumes of State Records present a smaller amount, and of a less interesting nature. Various deeds given by the Indians may be found in the ten volumes of papers on Towns and Lands; and, thinly scattered through the fifteen volumes on Ecclesiastical Affairs, are notices of efforts made for their civil improvement and conversion. Lastly, but more important than any of the others, come two volumes of papers relating to the Indians alone; containing nearly six hundred documents, and stretching in a series of letters, petitions and reports of committees, from 1647 down to 1799. From the manuscripts thus named is drawn a very large portion of my history; and to the reading, though not to the antiquarian, public this portion will be almost entirely new. And thus closes a brief review of the principal materials, chiefly, it will be observed, cotemporary, on which the subsequent narrative is founded.

My dates, for the sake of uniformity, I have reduced entirely to

the mode of notation now in use. The difference between the old and new styles is at present twelve days; but as we go backward in time this difference gradually diminishes, until, at the Council of Nice in 325, it ceases altogether. Consequently, from all dates in my authorities previous to 1710, I have retrenched ten days; and from all subsequent to that, but previous to September, 1752, when the change to new style was effected in England, eleven days. Thus, the first Court of Connecticut in 1636 was held, by old style, on the twenty-sixth of April; by new style on the sixth of May. Thus, also, the second Commissioners' Court on the disputed lands of the Mohegans in 1738 was opened, by old style, on the twenty-fourth of May; by new style on the fourth of June.

Respecting the map which precedes the work a few words will suffice. It was meant to be a sketch of the political divisions of Connecticut previous to its settlement by Europeans; and it is my belief that the positions of the tribes which then existed are laid down with correctness. This was my chief object; and for any thing further than this I have made no great research, and lay claim to no extraordinary accuracy. It is pretty certain that some of the "Indian names" of our ponds and streams are not the names which the Indians themselves applied to them. Thus, Naugatuc was not anciently the name of the river to which it is now attached, but of a place on the banks of that river. The same assertion is probably true of the Mattabesett, a stream which empties into the Connecticut near Middletown. The largest river in the western part of our State is now invariably known as the Housatonic; but, if we may believe the early records of Stratford, it was in ancient times "commonly called the Paugussett." There is a small stream in New Milford styled the Aspetuck, or Ashpetuck, which I have little doubt was named thus after the Aspetuck in the ancient township of Fairfield. In like manner, the Mystic between Groton and Stonington was so designated by emigrants who came from the banks of that Mystic which empties

into Massachusetts Bay. To this stream it will be observed that I have restored the ancient name of Sickenames, or Siccahams, which is applied to it in the early maps and relations of the Dutch. From these circumstances it will justly be inferred, that, to construct a correct catalogue of the ancient nomenclatures of our rivers, ponds and mountains, would be not simply difficult, but absolutely impossible.

The four landscape illustrations in the volume are copied, it will be observed, from Barber's Historical Collections of Connecticut.

The original of the likeness of Occom is a very defaced portrait of him, taken while he was in England, and found by Miss Sarah L. Huntington in 1830, at Mohegan. Miss Huntington having placed it in the care of Col. John Trumbull, the distinguished Connecticut painter, he laid it before Miss Murray, a benevolent lady of New York, who had two hundred and fifty lithograph copies of it struck, to be sold for the benefit of the tribe. It was from one of these copies, furnished me by the aged and now deceased mother of Miss Huntington, that the engraving presented to the reader was designed.

Of the merit of the five fancy pieces by Darley, an artist known and admired in Europe as well as in America, it is unnecessary to speak. It may be observed, however, that the costumes are imitated from cotemporary pictures of the dress of our colonial period; and that the designs are thus, not only spirited and expressive, but, in a true sense, illustrations.

J. W. De F.

New Haven, October, 1850.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—THE COUNTRY—THE PEOPLE—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—INSTITUTIONS AND LANGUAGE.

It is but a little more than two hundred years since the State of Connecticut, now inhabited by a populous, civilized and Christian community, was entirely possessed by a few barbarous tribes of a race which seems to be steadily fading from existence. Their origin was Asiatic; their language was totally unlike any European tongue; their government was rude and founded solely upon custom; their religion was a singular system of paganism without idolatry; their character was ferocious, yet not undistinguished by virtues; and their mode of life was precarious and unsettled, dependent almost wholly for subsistence upon fishing and the chase. Some of these tribes are already laid in the grave; some have broken up and wandered away from the land of their fathers; and some, reduced to mere fragments, still cling, like ghosts, around their ancient habitations. Rude in manners and feeble in number as this people has always been, there are yet many passages in their history which are curious, some which are instructive, and some which are in a high degree touching and pathetic. The subject also opens to us two inquiries of real importance: one relating to the treatment of these tribes by the white settlers; the other asking for the cause of their steady and apparently irre-

mediable decline. It will be my effort in the following pages to narrate the facts relating to these questions, in such a manner that the reader may see how far they are connected with each other, and may form a just and intelligent decision with regard to each. For the plan of the work I shall first describe the ancient condition of the country, the manners and institutions of the inhabitants, the situation, and, as near as possible, the strength of the various tribes; and shall then take up their history at the earliest known period, and conduct it down to the present time.

THE COUNTRY.

Connecticut presented no such appearance as it exhibits now, when it was inhabited by the Pequot, the Quinnipiac, the Tunxis, and the Hammonasset. A continuous forest overspread nearly the whole landscape, adorning the hills with its verdure, darkening the valleys with its deep shadow, and bending solemnly over the margins of the rivers. No thickets choked up the way through these endless woodlands, for the underbrush was swept away every year by fires kindled for this purpose by the inhabitants. Paths led through them here and there; not paths of iron, such as those over which the steam-horse now flies; but winding foot-ways, along which the wild beast and the wild man alike travelled in single file. The roots of the smaller kinds of herbage were destroyed by the annual conflagrations; and a coarse and long grass waved in the salt meadows, along the low banks of the rivers, and wherever the ground was not thickly overshaded with trees.

The forests were filled with animals; some of them beasts of prey, others suitable for food, others valuable on account of their furs. Flocks of wild turkeys roamed through the woods; herons fished in the marshes or along the banks of the rivers; quails, partridges, and singing birds abounded, both in the forests and open country; and, at certain times of the year, the pigeons collected in such numbers that their flight seemed to obscure the light of the sun. The ponds, creeks and rivers swarmed with water-fowl, and various kinds of shell-fish were found in profusion along the shores of the sound. The waters seemed everywhere alive with fish; and, every spring, great numbers of shad and lamprey eels ascended the rivers, furnishing a seasonable supply to the natives when their provisions were exhausted by the long and severe winter. Such was the appearance and condition of Connecticut when it first became known to Europeans; and such were its capacities for supporting a people who depended almost wholly for subsistence upon fishing and the chase.*

THE PEOPLE.

In complexion, our uncivilized predecessors were of that tawny color, inclining to red, which, differing from the complexion of every other portion of the human family, seems peculiar to most, if not all of the aboriginal American race. Their cheek bones were high and prominent; their eyes widely separated; their noses usually

* See New England's Plantation. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, pp. 117—122; and Roger Williams' Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, pp. 219—225.

broad, even when curved in outline; and the ordinary cast of their features was coarse and often inexpressive. The men were generally tall, straight, well proportioned, and hardly ever corpulent, or in any manner deformed. The women were too apt to be short and clumsy; their features were seldom delicate or handsome; and what feminine graces they had were soon obliterated by hard bodily labor,combined with mental and moral degradation. The men were usually less muscular than Europeans; but their mode of life, and perhaps their natural constitution, gave them a power of enduring fatigue and privation, such as the latter could seldom rival. When necessary they would hunt for days together while suffering from hunger, or perform long journeys through the forests with no other refreshment than a little parched corn and water. Roger Williams tells us that he had known an Indian, with no other food than this, travel one hundred miles in a day; and back, over the same ground, in two days. We ought to remember, however, in considering this statement, that distances in those days were estimated after a very loose fashion, and that the estimates were commonly, as we now find, much exaggerated.*

AGRICULTURE.

For subsistence the Indians depended much less upon agriculture than upon either fishing or hunting. They

* For instance, Oldham, who visited Connecticut in 1633, somewhere about Windsor, estimated the distance from there to Boston at 160 miles; whereas, in a straight line, it would not measure above half that number. Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 111.

confined themselves chiefly to the raising of beans, maize and tobacco; for the fruits and vegetables which they afterwards cultivated were nearly all introduced into the country by Europeans. The corn and beans were cultivated by women and children; the tobacco alone was thought worthy of the labor and attention of the men. Much of the field work was, doubtless, performed with the fingers; and the only other implements which the Indians seem to have used, were spades rudely constructed of wood, or of a large shell fastened to a wooden handle. When a family wished to break up a new field, all its friends and neighbors came to assist, so that as many as fifty or a hundred people, of both sexes and all ages, might sometimes be seen socially turning up the earth in company.* The women of an ordinary family would commonly raise in a single season two or three heaps of corn, each containing twelve, fifteen or twenty bushels; and, if they had children or friends to assist them, and the crop was not injured by wild beasts, or destroyed by the incursions of an enemy, they would collect a much larger quantity. The corn was spread day after day in the sun, carefully shielded from the rain or dew; and, when in this way sufficiently prepared, was buried in the earth, and thus preserved for the winter's subsistence.†

HUNTING.

The invention of the bow and arrow is one of the earliest circumstances which enables man to obtain a su-

* Roger Williams' Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, p. 221.
† Roger Williams' Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, p. 222.

periority in his contest with the brute creation. Scarcely any barbarous people has not either invented or imitated this weapon, and made it a principal means of carrying on war, and of procuring a subsistence. It was, accordingly, the most important among the weapons of the aborigines of Connecticut, and was the only one which they made much use of in their hunting. The bow, usually carved from the wood of the hickory, was from three and a half to four feet long, and so powerful that nothing but long practice could enable a man to bend it. The arrows were made of reeds, elder sticks, or any slender pieces of wood, and were commonly headed with flint-stone fashioned into a proper shape with much labor and perseverance.

They hunted various species of wild fowl: pigeons, quails, turkeys and partridges, in the forests; cranes, geese, and ducks along the sea shore, or in the rivers, ponds and marshes. In the streams they also found the otter pursuing his solitary trade of fishing, and the beaver laboriously erecting his dams and houses, and instinctively preparing all summer a supply of food for the coming winter. Both these animals were eaten by the Indians; but they were hunted chiefly for the sake of the thick warm furs with which nature has fitted them for their mode of existence. In the forests, raccoons, rabbits and squirrels were to be found, as well as the more noble game of the common deer, the moose and the bear. The carniverous animals, whose flesh was never eaten, but whose furs rendered them an object of the chase, were wild cats, wolves and foxes.*

* Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, p. 222. New England's Plantation. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 121.

The Indians did most of their hunting alone, each man supplying himself and his family; but occasionally they united, and pursued the chase with twenty-five or thirty, or even two or three hundred in company. These grand hunts were seasons of diversion as well as labor; and they scarcely ever failed of bringing in great quantities of game. Another method of hunting was as follows: having, during the spring, taken notice of the haunts of the deer, they repaired to them, in bands of ten or twenty, after the harvest was over in the fall. They carried their traps, and sometimes, if the distance was not too great, they were accompanied by their women and children. On arriving at the localities already marked, each man selected a district of two or three miles in extent, and built for himself a small hunting house of bark and rushes. His traps, thirty or forty in number, he set in the deer paths, and near the springs in his district; and, every two days, went the rounds to visit them. Sometimes he was anticipated by those hereditary thieves and prowlers, the wolves, who, arriving first at the trap, thought themselves fortunate in finding a breakfast there without having had the trouble to catch it. In this case the disappointed hunter usually revenged himself by setting a separate trap for the robbers, in which one or more of them were often caught and crushed by a weight of large stones. The Indians were exceedingly careful as to what came in contact with their traps; and, noticing that the deer often avoided them with singular dexterity, they used to say that there was a divine power in the animals which enabled them to perceive whatever was out of the common way. When winter came on, the trappers left their

rush houses, shouldered the dried meat which they had collected during their stay, and returned to their wigwams or villages, sometimes travelling fifty or sixty miles through the snow.*

FISHING.

They fished in various ways: with hooks, spears and nets; in canoes and along the shore; on the sea, and in the ponds and rivers. They captured, without much trouble, all the smaller kinds of fish; and, in their canoes, they often dragged the sturgeon to land with nets stoutly made of wild hemp. Sometimes porpoises got among the rocks or shallows, and afforded a glorious scene of splashing maritime warfare before they could be overpowered and dispatched. Occasionally, too, whales were thrown on shore by storms; and, being likewise killed with a great deal of effort and trouble, yielded a new variety, and an abundant supply, of food to the inhabitants. Fish were then far more plentiful than at the present time, when the European has diminished their number by his mechanical contrivances, checked their liberty by his artificial waterfalls, and perhaps frightened them away by his innumerable keels and obstreperous paddle-wheels. Even the Indian children would then take them, by wading out into the flats and shallows, and spearing them with a pointed stick as they swam fearlessly by.

The canoes used for fishing and other purposes were of two kinds: one made of birch bark, very light and manageable, but liable to overset; the other comparatively

* Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 233.

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AN INDIAN FAMILY

heavy and strong, constructed of the trunks of large trees. In building the latter, the trees were felled, the branches cut off, and the excavation accomplished, chiefly by fire; shells and stone hatchets being also used, but simply to cut, or rather scrape and knock away, the charred portions of the wood. In this rude method they finished, with considerable neatness, canoes of forty or fifty feet in length, and capable of carrying twenty men.* Winthrop says that they sometimes made those which would carry sixty or eighty men; but, if this was ever done, it could not have been often; because the trees in New England seldom grew to so large a size as such a canoe would demand; and because the Indians could not shape and move such heavy masses of timber without the greatest difficulty.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS.

The clothing of the Indians was composed of skins, cured so as to be soft and pliable, and sometimes ornamented with paint and with beads manufactured from shells. Occasionally they decked themselves in mantles, made of feathers overlapping each other as on the back of the fowl, and presenting an appearance of fantastic gayety which, no doubt, prodigiously delighted the wearers.

The dress of the women consisted usually of two articles; a leather shirt, or under garment, ornamented with fringe; and a skirt of the same material, fastened round the waist with a belt and reaching nearly to the feet. A spendthrift husband would sometimes sell his wife's pet-

* Gookin's Hist. Coll. of the Indians in New England. Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. I, p. 152.

ticoat, or gamble it away; but custom would not allow him to seize upon the shirt, and the woman always held stoutly on to it until she was provided with another.* Their hair they dressed in a thick heavy plait which fell down upon the neck; and they sometimes ornamented their heads with bands of wampum or with a small cap.†

The men went bare-headed, with their hair fantastically trimmed, each according to his own fancy. One warrior would have it shaved on one side of the head and long on the other. Another might be seen with his scalp completely bare, except a strip two or three inches in width running from the forehead over to the nape of the neck. This was kept short, and so thoroughly stiffened with paint and bear's grease as to stand up straight, after the fashion of a cock's comb, or the crest of a warrior's helmet. The legs were covered with leggins of dressed deer-skin, and the lower part of the body was protected by the breech-cloth, usually called by the early settlers, Indian breeches. Moccasins, that is, light shoes of soft dressed leather, were common to both sexes; and, like other portions of the attire, were many times tastefully ornamented with embroidery of wampum. The men often dispensed with their leggins, especially in summer; while in winter they protected themselves against the bleak air by adding to their garments a mantle of skins. The male children ran about until they were ten or twelve years old in a state of nature; the girls were pro-

* Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, pp. 225—234.

† O'Callaghan's Hist. of New Netherlands, Vol. I, p. 53.

vided with an apron, though of very economical dimensions.*

Like our British ancestors, and some other very barbarous nations, the Indians were much in the habit of painting themselves with various colors. The women were most given to this custom, and used the paint as an ornament; while the men seldom applied it, except when they went to war and wished to appear very terrible in the sight of their enemies.† Sachems and great men had caps and aprons heavily wrought with different colored beads. Belts were also worn of the same material, some of which contained so great a quantity of wampum as to be valued by the English colonists at eight and ten pounds sterling.

These wampum beads formed the currency as well as the ornaments of the Indians; were used in their trade and in paying their tributes; and were manufactured into belts to be given as pledges in all national dealings with other tribes. They were of two kinds, the black and white: the former were made out of mussel shells; the latter from the inside of the conch shell. Both sorts were carved and perforated with no better implements than sharp stones; yet were they shaped and finished with a great deal of neatness and delicacy. Small quantities of wampum have occasionally been found; and a few strings of it are preserved in the rooms of the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford. The material of the white must have been more common or more easily worked than that

* Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, p. 225.
† Gookin. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 153.

of the other, for the beads made of it were accounted at only half the value.*

HOUSES AND FURNITURE.

The houses of the Indians appeared extremely rude to some of the first immigrants from England; and they described them to their friends at home as being "very little and homely," as being "like the houses of the wild Irish," and as having the sides made of matted boughs, and the roof thatched with reeds and rushes.† Gookin, however, writing in 1674, speaks of them as being from twenty to forty, and even one hundred feet in length, and, in the latter case, thirty feet in breadth. He says, also, that the better sort were made nearly impervious to the weather by a covering of bark; and that, having himself often slept in them, he could testify to their being as warm as the best houses among the colonists. The construction of the frame-work was always the same; poles being set firmly in the ground, and then bent together and fastened at the top.‡

The Indians had advanced far enough in luxury to use bedsteads, which they made of light frame-work, about a foot in height, and covered comfortably over with skins for bedding. The remainder of their household furniture was sufficiently simple; consisting, for the most part, of various dishes for the holding or preparation of food. There were wooden bowls, dug out of the knots of pep-

* Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, p. 231.

† New England's Plantation. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 123.

‡ Gookin. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 150.

perage or other hard trees; huge wooden spoons, of a size sufficient to put to shame the puny silver ones which have succeeded them; baskets made of woodsplints, rushes or long grass; pails ingeniously constructed of birch bark, and pots made of baked earth and shaped like the larger half of an egg. In the Historical Rooms at Hartford are preserved two or three stone bowls, or mortars, found at Farmington; and at Norwich I have seen two bowls carved from pepperage knots, each holding about three pints, and said to have been once the property of the great Uncas.* The pails above mentioned had handles by which they could be carried; and the bark of which they were made was fitted so nicely that these primitive vessels were capable of holding water. The baskets varied in size from a pint up to four bushels. They were neatly finished, and were often painted with the images of flowers, birds, fishes and beasts. The mats and baskets were made by the women; the pots, dishes and spoons, and probably the stone vessels, by the men.†

FOOD

The most famous dish of the Indians was succotash, a mixture of corn and beans, which they boiled in their earthen pots, and sometimes seasoned with fish, either

* These, with a curious staff, also said to have belonged to the old sachem, descended for a long time in the Uncas family, and were finally given, by a Mohegan squaw, to Mrs. J. B. Goddard, who resides next to the Mohegan cemetery, and in whose possession I saw them. One of the bowls is circular, and has a handle like the head of an owl; the other is oblong, and has two handles like the heads of dogs facing each other.

† Gookin. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 151.

fresh or dried. In dressing a fish or an animal they seldom gave themselves the trouble of taking out the bones or entrails: in fact, like all savages, they were very little solicitous about the cleanliness of their food, and were more apt to be anxious concerning its quantity than its quality. Still, they sometimes attempted to render their succotash more savory, by mixing in ground nuts and artichokes, and thickening the mess with flour made by reducing walnuts, chestnuts and acorns to a powder. They also made cakes of Indian corn meal, wrapping them in leaves, and roasting them in the ashes. Strawberries, blackberries and whortleberries were extremely abundant; and those who lived on the sea-shore still further furnished their tables with all kinds of shell-fish, sometimes fresh, and sometimes dried.*

PLACES OF RESIDENCE.

Although the Indians tried to make themselves thus comfortable in their houses, they were by no means fixed to them, but often wandered from one place to another. In summer, as I have already mentioned, they sometimes removed a distance of many miles to their hunting grounds. In winter they often left the exposed sea-coast, or the banks of the rivers, and retreated into some wooded and sheltered valley, where they could, at once, be protected from the winds, and plentifully supplied with firewood. If an enemy approached, they fled to their forts, or took refuge in some swamp or thicket. If one of the family died, they sometimes deserted the house in which

* Gookin, p. 150. Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, p. 208.

the death had occurred, though, whether to avoid infection, or to fly from the remembrance of the loss, is uncertain. Thus they lived a wandering and unsettled life, thinking chiefly of the pleasures and troubles of the present, and bestowing but little anxiety on the future.*

A part of the population, especially among the larger and more warlike tribes, seems always to have inhabited the fortified villages. These were almost invariably situated on some prominent hill, which would be easy of defense, and would command an extensive prospect by which the approach of an enemy might be perceived. The ground occupied by a village varied from a very small space up to two or three acres. The houses were closely packed together, but an open place was left in the center, which was used for amusements, for ceremonies, for idling, and for the transaction of public business. The whole village was surrounded by a fortification, made of the trunks of young trees, firmly planted in the earth, and forming a close fence or palisade ten or twelve feet high. Where the entrance was left, the two ends of the fence overlapped each other, and made a narrow passage which was closed at night by being filled up with brushwood.† Here, in these fortresses, lived the grand sachems of the tribes; here the great councils were held which decided the business of the nation; here Kiehtan was honored and Hobbamocko was pacified by frantic dances; and here the war parties gathered themselves together, and sang, and boasted, and prepared to go forth to battle.

* Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, p. 213.

† P. Vincent's Pequot War. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 38, 39.

AMUSEMENTS.

The dances performed by the Indians were of various kinds: some were merely for amusement; others were ceremonial; others in celebration of some important event. They danced in the public square above mentioned, or in their large wigwams, or on the green sward without the walls of their fortresses. The most popular of their dances affords a striking illustration of that improvidence and love of excitement which prevails so strongly in the character of uncivilized man. To perform it they assembled in one of their largest wigwams, and stood or sat in a circle so as to leave an open space in the center. All being ready, one of the company entered the circle and commenced the game. Dancing alone, he flourished some valuable article in his hands until one of the bystanders came forward and begged for it, saying, "I beseech you." The dancer immediately gave it to him; then took up some other article, and so continued his performance, until he was thoroughly fatigued, or had danced himself out of all his property. Another now supplied his place, and in this merry and heedless style each, in turn, divested himself of his worldly goods, going away at the end with whatever he had been able to beg from others.

With bits of rushes the Indians played a game resembling cards; and they also made use of rude dice, consisting of pebbles, or other small objects, painted so as to render the different sides distinguishable. On these games, and on that of football, they sometimes staked and lost their whole property; and, if unmarried, they were

even known to hazard their own persons, and thus, if chance turned against them, reduce themselves to slavery. In such cases the same results followed as among civilized gamesters; for the unfortunate player became melancholy, dispirited, and ready to put an end to his sorrows by self murder.*

THE FAMILY.

The Indians treated their children with affection and extreme indulgence, never beating them when they did wrong, but reasoning with, and endeavoring to persuade them into what was right. Such a system of government produced its natural effects; and parental authority among the Indians was little better than a name.† A distinction, however, was doubtless made between the boys and the girls; for to be in subjection was considered the province of the latter, while every encouragement was given to the bold and independent spirit of the former. The women were an inferior race, whose proper business it was to plant and gather the crops, to erect the wigwams, to cut and haul firewood, to prepare food and to carry burdens.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE.

When an Indian youth wished to obtain a girl, whom he fancied, in marriage, he made her presents of ornaments wrought in wampum, and, if she accepted them, it

* Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, pp. 234, 235. Gookin. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 153.

† Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, p. 211. "This extreme affection, together with want of learning, makes their children saucy, bold and undutiful."

was considered as a pledge of betrothal. The consent of the sachem was then obtained; and he having joined their hands together, they were looked upon as husband and wife. In general, the husband seems to have obtained his wife of her parents, by making them a present of from five to ten fathoms of wampum.*

The number of wives was not limited by public opinion; yet a man seldom had more than one at a time, unless he was a sachem, or a person of wealth. Custom allowed either party to put an end to the connection if the other was unfaithful; and separations sometimes took place for other causes than adultery. Occasionally it happened that a woman, to escape from a husband whom she disliked, would run away, and take refuge with the enemies of her tribe, among whom she was always sure of a welcome. Yet, notwithstanding this laxity of the marriage bond, Roger Williams informs us that he was acquainted with couples who had lived together for twenty, thirty, forty and fifty years.†

MORALS AND CHARACTER.

As may be inferred from what has just been narrated, unfaithfulness in marriage, among the Indians, was looked upon as a crime. The husband usually punished his guilty wife before witnesses with blows and wounds; and, if he even inflicted death by his violence, custom would not allow any one to interfere.‡ As for ordinary

* Trum. Vol. I, p. 38.

† Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, p. 231. Winslow's Relation in Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, p. 364.

‡ Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., p. 230.

licentiousness, we have the testimony of most of the early writers of New England, that it was almost entirely unrestrained, and hardly considered a shame. This, however, agrees so little with what is now ascertained to be the character of the Indian race, that we must make great allowance for the strong expressions of these puritan writers, and for their deep abhorrence of even the slightest deviation from the path of virtue. It is certain that the Indians in those early days were not licentious as the natives of the South Sea Islands are; and it is very possible that, in this respect, they would compare not unfavorably even with the civilized and christianized race which has succeeded them.

Robberies, the Indians seldom committed; and murder for the sake of robbery was very rare indeed. They often stole, however; and, by their daily practice, showed that they had little idea of the beauty and value of truth.* Revengeful by nature, custom had made vengeance with them a matter of duty and honor. Impatient of bodily labor and indisposed to thought, they naturally turned for pleasure to those coarse gratifications of the senses which were within their reach. They were indolent when not strongly incited to exertion; they were gluttonous when supplied with an abundance of food; and they became intemperate as soon as the means of intemperance were placed within their reach. These characteristics they possessed in common with all races of men whose natures have not been refined by civilization, nor restrained and elevated by religion. Their virtues were, in like manner,

* "Lying, stealing, idleness and uncleanness, the Indians' epidemical sins." —*Letter of Roger Williams to Governor Winthrop.*

the products of the state of society in which they lived. They were grateful for favors, hospitable both to strangers and friends, and disposed to share with each other in abundance and good fortune.

SICKNESS, MOURNING AND BURIAL.

The diseases of the Indians were few but severe in their nature, and, for want of proper treatment, very apt to be fatal. They consisted of quinsies, pleurisies, rheumatisms, quick consumptions, and such others as would naturally be produced by their exposures and hardships, and by their irregular mode of life, now suffering with hunger, and now stuffing themselves to repletion. Toothache seems to have been common; and Roger Williams records the ludicrous fact that, while they could endure every other pain with fortitude, this was too much for their resolution, and would make them cry and groan after a most piteous fashion.

For curatives they sometimes used sweating, and sometimes purged the system with herbs which they knew how to select for that purpose. One mode of producing perspiration was to stand, closely wrapped up, over a hole in the earth containing a heated stone. Another was to remain an hour or more in a little cabin, about eight feet over, which had been strongly heated. These sweating huts were always on the banks of some river or pond, so that, when the patient had perspired sufficiently, he could finish the prescription by rushing out suddenly and plunging into the water.*

* Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, p. 236.

But there was another mode of treatment, which, as it depended upon supernatural means, was universally regarded as vastly more efficacious. The practitioners on this system were a set of men called *powwows*, who acted the part in the community of doctors of medicine, magicians and priests. Before the powwow would commence his incantations he required a present; and it is probable, that, according to the value of this, he proportioned the length and earnestness of his exercises. Having received what he considered a suitable gift, he attired himself so as to resemble a wild beast or some nondescript monster, and entering the presence of the sick man, commenced invoking the deities. He began, at first, in a low tone, accompanying his song with strange, extravagant and often ludicrous gestures. As he went on, his motions became violent and frantic, and his voice grew louder and louder, until it ended in furious howls and shouts. Now and then the sick man uttered a word to show his concurrence in the petition; and occasionally, too, his voice was heard joining in the song. When the powwow had exhausted himself, or thought that he had worked out the value of his present, he breathed a few times in the face of the patient and took his leave. The success of this extraordinary mode of treatment was fully proportioned to its nature; and the Indians recovered or died under it, according as their constitutions or the disease proved to be most powerful.

After the death of an individual, the relatives remained at home a few days, receiving the consolatory visits of their friends, who came into the wigwam of the bereaved family, and stroking the mourners softly on the cheek or

head, said to them, "Be of good cheer." Some wise and grave man, of respectability in the tribe, commonly had the office of conducting the ceremonies of the funeral. Having adorned the neck and arms of the corpse with such ornaments as the relatives could afford, he next swathed it in a covering of mats and skins. With their rude wooden spades they dug a shallow grave; and, having covered the bottom with sticks, they bore the deceased thither and laid him in his resting place. They placed him, sometimes in a sitting, sometimes in a reclining, posture; and by his side they laid implements of war and hunting, and dishes of food, for the use of the disembodied spirit. During this ceremony, the relatives, with their faces painted black in token of mourning, stood by the grave. When it was finished they sat down around the body of their departed brother and wept. Tears flowed down the cheeks, even of men and warriors, and the women exhibited their grief by doleful howls and shrieks. After some time the grave was filled with earth; upon which they broke forth into renewed lamentations, as being now completely separated from the object of their love. Such, according to the descriptions which have been left us, appears to have been an Indian burial.

Sometimes a mat and dish which the deceased person had used were laid on the grave, and one of his garments was hung on the branch of a neighboring tree. There they remained, untouched by friends or enemies, the sport of winds and storms, until decay had mingled them with the dust. No Indian would meddle with them, for they were consecrated to the use of the dead, and, if they should be taken away, the departed spirit might

be compelled to go naked and hungry in the other world.*

But the funeral ceremonies of the Indians were not always alike; and they sometimes differed, in various particulars, from those which I have just described. When a person of rank died, large sacrifices of property were often made, either as a solemn memento for the deceased, or to appease the anger of God, who was supposed to have sent the calamity. Thus, on the death of a son of Canonicus, grand-sachem of the Narragansetts, the bereaved father set fire to his palace and consumed it with all its furniture and goods.†

RELIGION.

Few portions, if any, of the human race are without some system of religion; yet, in barbarous countries, these systems are almost always extremely crude and indefinite. Thus, although the religious dogmas of the aborigines of New England were sufficiently numerous, the accounts which have reached us of them are so various and even conflicting, that it is difficult to compile from them a satisfactory summary. It is certain, however, that they believed in one great and invisible deity, who was variously known, in different tribes, by the names of Kiehtan,‡ Woonand and Cautantowit. He lived far away to the southwest, and concerned himself little with the affairs of men in this life. His nature was benevolent,

* Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, p. 237.

† The above section is compiled chiefly from Roger Williams' Key and from descriptions of Indian graves which have been opened in various parts of Connecticut.

‡ Winslow's Relation, in Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, p. 355.

and it was through his gift, the Indians said, that they first obtained their corn and beans. But, as they feared him not, he received little of their veneration; and their old men told the English colonists that the worship of the good Kiehtan had declined among them, even within their remembrance.

They paid much more respect to Hobbamocko,* the spirit of evil, the author of all human plagues and calamities. From the fear which his supposed power and malignant disposition inspired he received great veneration: many dances were performed in his honor, and many sacrifices offered to appease his wrath.

But there was likewise a race of inferior deities, who might be regarded as the spirits or geniuses of various persons and objects. The Narragansetts repeated to Roger Williams the names of thirty-seven of these *manittos*, each being an object of worship, and each bearing a significant name. There was a god of the north, a god of the south, a god of the east, a god of the west, a god of the house, a god of women, and a god of children. The sun, the moon, the sea, the fire, and many other things were believed to be animated by spirits; and each of them, as circumstances seemed to require, might be made an object of sacrifice and adoration. Roger Williams once disputed with some Narragansetts about the existence of Yotaanit, their god of fire. To his arguments they replied: "What! is it possible that this fire is not a divinity? It comes out of a cold stone; it saves us from dying of hunger; if a single spark falls into the dry wood

* Sometimes spelled Hobbamock or Hobbamoqui. Winslow's Relation p. 356.

it consumes the whole country. Can anything which is so powerful be other than a deity?"*

But, although the Indians believed in, and worshiped, so great a number of divinities, they seem never to have attempted to represent any of them in a substantial and visible form. Singular stones, bearing a faint resemblance to the human head and bust, have indeed been found, and have sometimes been designated as Indian gods. They are, however, evidently the productions of nature; and, as they were not shaped by the hand of man, there remains not even the presumption that they were ever the objects of his worship.

When the Indians were questioned as to their creation, some of the inland tribes easily disposed of the subject by answering that they were descended from the inhabitants of the seacoast. As to when or how the inhabitants of the seacoast came into being they pretended not to say. Another story was, that two young squaws were once wading or swimming in the sea: the foam touched their bodies and they became pregnant: one brought forth a boy and the other a girl: the two women then died, and their children became the progenitors of the human race.† Roger Williams says that the Narragansetts would allow, in general, that God made all things; but still insisted that the skies, and earth, and people of England, were made by the English God, while they, with their skies and earth, were made by their own gods. They also told him that Cautantowit, the great god of the southwest, made a man and woman of stone; but, not liking them,

* Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, pp. 226—229.

† Gookin's Hist. Coll. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 146.

he broke them in pieces, and made another pair, of wood, from whom all human beings were descended.

If the Indians were favored with any good fortune, they acknowledged it as coming from the deity. If any calamity or accident overtook them, although no more than a common fall, they were accustomed to observe that God was angry with them. If a man even had a dream which seemed to portend misfortune, he would rise in the darkness and pray that the threatened calamity might be averted. Williams relates that an Indian child having died during the night, its father, on discovering his loss at daybreak, called up the family. All began to weep and lament, while the bereaved parent exclaimed with many tears, "O God, thou hast taken away my child. Thou art angry with me. O turn away thy wrath and spare the rest of my children."*

On another occasion the same author, while gazing with unavailing pity upon a young Indian who was dying of a wound, observed that in his agonies he often called upon Muckachuckwand, the god of children. The natives who stood round informed him that, many years before, Muckachuckwand had appeared to the young man in a dream, and told him to call upon him for help when he was in distress. Thus the poor Indian, in his bereavements and his dying hour, called for mercy and assistance to those gods in whom he had been taught to believe.

They held that the soul existed after death, and that the spirits of the good would go to the house of Kiehtan, far away in the warm regions of the southwest. There

* Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, pp. 209, 226.

they would be delivered from all sorrow and preserved from all misfortune; and they would enjoy pleasures similar to those which are to be met with here, only in exhaustless abundance, and in complete perfection. The wicked, too, would go to the door of Kiehtan and knock for admittance; but, upon his telling them to go away, they would be obliged to wander abroad forever in a state of horror and restless discontent. The Indians placed their heaven in the southwest, because the wind from that quarter is the warmest and pleasantest that blows in this climate, and usually brings fair weather in its train.*

The soul was called by the Narragansetts *cowwewonck*, a word derived from sleep: "because," said they, "it works and continues in motion while the body sleeps." They had also another name for it, signifying "a clear sight or discernment."†

All over New England, and, indeed, throughout all the region covered by the United States and Canada, existed that class of priesthood whom I have already mentioned, the *powwows*. The individuals who composed this profession were usually devoted to it from childhood, and were tried by painful ceremonies, by fasting and by want of sleep. Their object in these austerities was to attain to a converse with the gods; yet it was not every one, they imagined, who made this attempt, that succeeded; and, of those who did succeed, some were far inferior in influence and familiarity with supernatural beings to others. To confirm the idea of their inspiration, the

* Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III. Winslow's Relation in Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, p. 356.

† Key, p. 228.

powwows seem to have practiced some of the arts of juggling or natural magic. A number of the tricks which they thus performed were so wonderful and seemingly unaccountable, that many of the English colonists verily believed them to be accomplished by the special assistance of Satan. But, more than this, the powwows pretended to fall into trances, to be favored with visions which foretold future events, and to behold fearful and mysterious apparitions of the deity.*

It is probable that these men deliberately imposed many times upon the credulity of their countrymen; but it is also probable that they often believed themselves to be seized and impelled by the irresistable force of some supernatural impulse. It is unquestionable that, under the influence of superstition, the human mind may work itself, by its own efforts, into such a degree of excitement, as to dethrone reason for a time and wrest from it its power over the body. The actor, in such a case, will foam at the mouth, fall writhing and struggling on the ground, and even remain for a time in complete insensibility to external objects. The howling dervishes of Turkey, the pagan priests of the South Sea Islands, and the religious enthusiasts who have sometimes appeared in the Christian world, are all examples of this fact, and may be compared with the Indian powwows of Connecticut.

On occasion of any great public calamities, such as sickness and drouth, war and famine, the Indians performed religious dances to appease the anger of their gods. They also made use of the same ceremonies to

* Gookin. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 154. Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, p. 237. Winslow's Relation, Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, p. 357.

testify their gratitude for any unusual good fortune, such as a successful hunt, or an abundant harvest. Building large fires in the center of their wigwams, or, still oftener, in the open air, they danced round them in a circle, with wild and frantic gestures. They accompanied their motions with loud songs and dissonant howls, shaking, at the same time, their rattles of shells, and thumping heavily on their sullen drums. The dance was led by the powwows, fantastically painted, and dressed in skins so as to resemble bears, wolves, and other savage beasts. Around the performers was gathered a vast crowd of men, women and children, collected from the whole neighboring country, all gazing with deep interest upon the frantic ceremonies. The powwows at intervals continued the dance alone, varying it with furious starts and invocations, while the dense crowd responded with groans and dolorous shouts. At these times they brought their furs, their wampum, and, it was told, even their children, and throwing them upon the fire, sacrificed them to Hobbamocko, the author of evil. On the green meadows and in the leafy forests, these wild assemblages might then be seen, where now, perhaps, rises the spire of the village church, or is heard the lowing of cattle, or the hum and clatter of machinery.

SOCIAL DISTINCTIONS.

According to Cotton Mather, society among the aborigines was divided into three classes. The highest was that of the "nobles," comprehending all those who were descended of the blood-royal, those who were invested with authority by the sachem, and those whose families

had been considered noble from time immemorial. Next to these came the "yeomen," or *sannops*, who formed the mass of the community, possessed a right in the lands of the tribe, and might claim the privilege of attending the sachem in his excursions. The third class consisted of strangers and descendants of foreigners, whom Mather is pleased to distinguish by the old English title of "villains," or serfs. They had no property in the land; they could not attend on the chief, except by permission; and they were in some degree subject to the *sannops*, or ordinary citizens.*

GOVERNMENT.

The government was vested in a head or chief, called *sachem*, and in a body of men who acted the part of advisers and councillors. It is quite certain that the sachemship was not elective, nor to be attained merely by superior talents and courage.† On the contrary, it was entirely hereditary, descending regularly from father to son, and devolving, if male heirs were wanting, upon the females. So strict was this reverence to birth, that it was demanded that the mother should always be noble: for, said the Indians, if the mother is noble the son will be at least half noble; but, if the mother is ignoble, the son may not have a drop of noble blood in him. The point of this reasoning is easily perceived; and we are at liberty to consider it as either a severe commentary on the faithlessness of Indian wives, or a curious instance of the

* Magnalia Book, Vol. VI, Chap. VI, Sec. 1.

† "This government is succes-ive and not by choice."—*Winslow's Relation.*

acuteness of Indian deductions, or a proof of the extremely high value which they set upon the purity of the royal blood. The same custom, founded on the same course of reasoning, was prevalent among the Iroquois, among the Indians of the Antilles, and probably among most of the aborigines of America. It must be observed that the sachemship, among the tribes of New England, was often subjected to usurpation, although it seldom, if ever, passed out of the possession of one family.

But, although the sachem inherited his dignity by hereditary right, the authority which accompanied that dignity depended, for amount, very much upon his own abilities. If he was brave, eloquent and cunning, he might exercise a sway approaching to the despotic; but if he was deficient in these, and in other qualities suitable for command, his dignity was despised and his orders indifferently obeyed. Yet, however great his influence might be, he was usually careful not to violate the known wishes of his people; and seldom transacted anything of importance without the advice and concurrence of his councillors. In conjunctures of great moment, general assemblies of the tribe were often called, the business was publicly discussed, and the different leaders sometimes enforced their views by long and animated harangues.

Beneath the principal sachem was a class of inferior chieftains, who seem to have been properly called sagamores, and who, it is probable, were the same with the "nobles" mentioned by Cotton Mather. Each of these petty chieftians would collect round him a band of followers as numerous as his character for abilities and courage would enable him to draw together. He had no positive

claim to their services, however, and was obliged to make himself popular with them, and keep them in good humor, or they would forsake him and attach themselves to some rival.

Punishments were always inflicted by the sachem in person, except in cases where the delinquent was living at too great a distance. He then confided the business to one of his councillors, and delivered him his own knife or tomahawk, to serve both as the warrant for the execution, and the instrument for inflicting it. If one of the tribe had been killed by another, the sachem caused the murderer to be seized, and either knocked out his brains, or stabbed him to the heart. If a thief was detected, he at first received a public reprimand from the sachem; a second offence secured him a hearty beating; and for a third he had his nostrils slit, so that all men might know his character and guard against him.

Besides the honor and authority with which the sachem's office invested him, he was entitled by it to demand from his subjects a kind of revenue. They carried him the first fruits of their corn and beans; and very often made him presents out of what they had obtained in fishing and hunting. In this way the cabin of a powerful chieftain was usually supplied with abundance of food, and his beds or couches were well furnished with the skins of bears, wolves, foxes, moose and beaver. When the sachem saw any of his people coming to him with a present, he went out and met him, made him a trifling gift in token of gratitude, thanked him for what he had brought, and gave utterance to many complimentary expressions. To the sachem were given the spoils taken in

war, and especially the women and regal ornaments of any conquered chieftain. All the waters, too, in his dominions were his; and, in consequence of this prerogative, he claimed every whale and wreck that was stranded on the shore, and the skin of every wolf and deer that took to the water and was there despatched by the hunters. But, in return for the support thus furnished him by his people, he was bound to exercise an unlimited hospitality towards travellers and strangers, and take the whole charge of supporting ambassadors who came from other tribes.*

WAR.

Like all uncivilized men, the Indians were fond of war, and thought it the most desirable and glorious of all human occupations. They carried it on almost incessantly, sometimes by general battles, but more often in small expeditions conducted with secrecy and cunning. They had various ceremonies connected with it, both on its commencement, on occasion of any great success, and at the final conclusion of hostilities. No distinct account, however, is remaining of these rites; and we can only infer their nature from detached passages, or from what is known of the customs of other tribes.

A frequent cause of war was the mockery and mutual vituperation which passed between the sachems; and no insult was so likely to bring it on as for one chief to pronounce in a contemptuous manner the name of any of his rival's deceased ancestors: for there was a singular custom among the Indians, that, after a sachem died, his

* Key. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, p. 229. Gookin, Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 154.

name was never again mentioned; whoever committed the offense being first warned of his transgression, and, on a repetition of it, punished. But notwithstanding this and other provocations, a sachem would sometimes say: "What! shall I hazard the lives of my subjects, them and theirs, to kindle a fire which no man knows how long and how far it may burn, for the barking of a dog?"*

Before commencing hostilities, ambassadors were usually sent to the enemy, to recount the insults and injuries which had been received, and to demand satisfaction. Sometimes, also, a general council was called, to obtain the consent of the nation to the war, or to arrange the plan of the campaign.

Probably the head chief usually led those expeditions in which large numbers were engaged, while the smaller ones were often commanded by some of the sagamores, or inferior chieftains. In the evening, before setting out against the enemy, those who had pledged themselves to be of the war party, performed a dance. Large fires were built, and, in the lurid and fitful light of these, the warriors, fiercely painted, and grasping their arms, moved in a circle round a painted post. One of them would finally spring forward, brandish his war-club, strike furiously at the post, and go through the motions of killing and scalping it as if it were an enemy. As he performed this exercise, he vaunted the exploits he had formerly achieved, reproached the foe with cowardice, and threatened that he would kill and scalp their young men, and would lead away their women captive to his lodge. When he had finished, another took his place, and thus the vain-glorious

* Key. Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. III, p. 235.

dance went on, until all in their turns had boasted of their intended achievements, and exhibited their hatred towards the enemy.

On commencing their march, they moved cautiously towards the country of the hostile tribe, concealing themselves as much as possible in the forests, and using every effort to fall upon their intended victims by surprise. Sometimes they waded up or down the beds of rivers, or stepped from rock to rock, or from one fallen tree to another, so as to leave no trace of their progress. Sometimes they marched in single file, carefully treading in each other's footsteps, so that whoever discovered their trail might be able to form no judgment of their numbers. All the arts which had been taught them by savage cunning, or by long experience in such a method of warfare, were put in practice to deceive and take at disadvantage an enemy who was no less cunning and experienced than themselves. If they came upon a hostile village by night, they waited in silence around it until near daybreak, when men sleep the soundest; and then, as the spreading light enabled them to see, they rushed forward, with hideous yells, to kill, burn and destroy. But the foe, although taken by surprise, was not therefore conquered: perfectly accustomed to such scenes of hidden danger, the sleeping warriors awoke, not to fly, but to grasp their weapons and resist. Thus the assailants had often a severe struggle to endure before they could destroy the village, and were sometimes themselves defeated, and driven back in flight to their own country.

The battles of the Indians were never very bloody. In the most considerable that is recorded ever to have taken

place in Connecticut, that between Uncas and Miantinomo, no more than thirty of the defeated party lost their lives. In the forest every tree served as a buckler; and the warrior, standing behind some huge oak or chestnut, launched his missiles with very little danger either to himself or his adversary. In the open country they danced and leaped about to avoid each other's arrows; and here, as well as everywhere, took great pains to protect and carry off the wounded. But when a warrior saw that his well-aimed shaft had stretched an enemy on the plain, he grasped his tomahawk, and rushed gallantly forward among the foe, to secure that most glorious of all trophies, the warm and bloody scalp. Some ran to prevent and others to assist him, and a close and desperate struggle ensued round the body, such as the heroes of Greece and Ilium maintained over the corpse of Patroclus. If the victor succeeded in reaching his fallen foe, he seized him by the hair, gashed open the skin with his flint knife, and, by a single jerk of his teeth, tore the scalp from the head. Then, waving the bloody token aloft, he raised a triumphant yell, and either dashed again upon the enemy, or fled back for shelter to his comrades.

The defensive weapons of the Indians were targets made of bark; their offensive ones, bows and arrows, wooden clubs and stone hatchets. At the commencement of an expedition, or immediately before a battle, the leader of the war party often made a long and earnest oration, reviling and ridiculing the enemy, extolling the courage of his warriors, and inciting them, by their desire of glory, or of revenge for past injuries, to fight bravely and win an unparalleled victory.

But the Indians had maritime as well as land battles, making expeditions, not through the forests only, but along the rivers and on the open sea. Roger Williams once saw a fleet of thirty or forty canoes, filled with warriors, engaged in desperate battle with another fleet of almost equal size. He has not informed us who the combatants were; but probably one party consisted of the Narragansetts, of Rhode Island, and the other of their fierce and encroaching enemies, the Pequots of Connecticut.

Prisoners among the Indians underwent, according to circumstances, very different kinds of treatment. Occasionally the captive was adopted in place of one of the hostile tribe who had been slain in battle. In the family he filled the same position, whether of son or husband, which had been occupied by the deceased; and he was treated, in all other respects, like one of the nation; unless that sometimes he was watched, to prevent him from leaving his newly found relations, and returning to to those with whom he was connected by the ties of nature. But, if the captive was not thus adopted, a terrible fate awaited him. He was appointed unto death; and his death must be one of lingering and horrible torture. He must endure all the insults which hatred can offer, all the torments which a ferocious ingenuity can inflict, all the agonies which the human frame is able to bear. But the suffering warrior, with the flames shrivelling his skin, and the live coals scorching his flesh, sternly suppressed every sound or look which could betray his anguish, hurled back defiance in the faces of his enemies, and shouted his war-song even while the hand

of death was feeling for his heartstrings. Such scenes as this, in which the women took even a more active part than the men, will not let us forget that, whatever of romance there may have been about the character and life of the Indians, they were yet a race of unmitigated savages.*

LANGUAGE.

As the natives of New England were all of the Algonquin race, their languages bore a general resemblance to each other in construction, although often very different in the individual words. Gookin tells us that the New England languages, especially upon the seacoast, differed only as the various dialects of England differ, and were so much alike that the people of the several tribes could easily understand each other.† This author is unquestionably excellent authority with regard to the Indians, as he was for many years superintendant of that large portion of the natives of Massachusetts which submitted to the government of the colony. Yet, judging from such specimens as we have of the Massachusetts, Narragansett and Pequot languages, I am disposed to think that his assertions on this point are somewhat strained, and that if the Indians could easily understand each other, it was not so much from a close similarity of languages, as from the facility which practice had given them in communicating even where the languages were very different. I will, however, place some of these specimens before the

* This section is drawn from Roger Williams' Key, Chap. XXIX, and what is known everywhere about the Indian mode of fighting.

† Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 149.

reader, and allow him to draw his conclusions for himself. The first is a version of the Lord's Prayer, in the Pequot or Mohegan tongue, which was obtained by Governor Saltonstall, of Connecticut, in the year 1721.*

"Co shunōngone ıhe suck cuck ābot. Na naw ūi e coom shaw ims nūskspe coūe so wūnk. Kuck sudamong peamook. Ecook Aiootoomomon ukkee tawti ee ōok ungow. A geescuck meē se nam eyew kee suck askesuck mysput eo honegan. A quon to mi nun namat to ōmp pa wōn ganuksh nō. Awe ah goon to mi nad macha. Chook quoe a guck, ah greead macon jussūon mattum paw oon ganuck puk kqueaw hus nawn woochet. Matchetook kee kucks sudamong, cumme ekē go wonk, ah kōont seek coomsakō oh woonk. Mackēeme, mackēme Eeats."

The next specimen is the Lord's Prayer, in the Massachusetts language, taken from Eliot's Indian Bible. The reader will observe that one of the characters resembles a figure 8 laid on its side. This was adopted by Eliot to represent a sound, apparently a vowel sound, not contained in the English language.

"Nœshun kesukqut quttianatamunach kœwesuonk. Peyaumœutch kukketaffœtamoonk, kuttenantamoonk ne n nach ohkeit neane kesukqut. Nummeetsuongash asekesukokish assamainnean yeuyeu kesukok. Kah ahquo-

* It is preserved in No. 261 of the bound pamphlets in the library of the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford. For the sake of showing the collocation of the words I give here the English translation.

"Father ours above in Heaven. Admired in highest manner be thy name. Like done thy will on earth as like in Heaven. Let us be forgiven evil doings of ours, as we would forgive wrong doers to us. Not guide us into snares, but help us to escape from evil. Thine thy powerful kingdom, thine the strength, thine the greatest glory. Always, always me wish so."

antamaiinnean nummatcheseongash, neane matchenenukqueagig nutaquontamounnonog. Ahquc sagkompagunnaiinnean en gutchhuaouganit, webe pohquokwussinnean wutch matchitut. Newutche kutahtaunn ketassœtamoonk, kah menuhkesuonk, kah sohsumoonk mickeme. Amen.

A further proof of the dissimilarity of the words in the Indian languages of New England is furnished by a vocabulary in the Appendix to Hale's Treatise on American Ethnology.* A list of sixty words in the Massachusetts dialect is presented, accompanied by their synonymes, as far as they could be procured, in the languages of the Narragansetts and of the Mohegans of Hudson river. In this list the Narragansett and Massachusetts tongues resemble each other, to some extent, in thirty-seven instances out of fifty-three; perfectly in about seven. The Narragansett and Mohegan resemble each other, more or less, in about twenty words out of fifty-two; perfectly in none. The Massachusetts and Mohegan have about twenty-three similarities, and also not one instance where the resemblance is complete. A portion of this vocabulary, with the corresponding words in the Pequot or other Connecticut dialects, may be seen in Article First of the Appendix. By referring to it, the reader will observe that, in the instances which it gives, at least, the Pequot bears a nearer resemblance to the Massachusetts and Narragansett languages than to that of the Mohegans, from whom the Pequots are supposed to have descended.†

But, however the Indian languages of this region may

* Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. II, p. 110.

† The Mohegans of New York, not of Connecticut.

have differed from each other in particular words, it is unquestionable that they were similar in construction; and we may take it for granted that, whatever general principle or characteristic might be alledged of one, was applicable to all the others.

We have the authority of Roger Williams for asserting that the Narragansett tongue was exceedingly copious, and often possessed five or six words to express a single thing. The Mohegan, President Edwards informs us, had all the English parts of speech; and was believed by him to contain as large a proportion of abstract to concrete terms as any other language.* The regularity with which its verbs were conjugated through all the variations of the negative, causative, and other forms, was truly astonishing.†

The Indian languages had one peculiarity, which throws all the boasted powers of combination in the German into the shade. This was the power of uniting various syllables, of different words, into one new word, which should express the meaning of all the original terms from which it was compounded. Thus, a Delaware girl, in playing with a dog, might give utterance to her pleasure or admiration by exclaiming, *Kuligatschis*, that is, "thy pretty little paw." This word would be compounded from *k*, thou or thy; *wulit*, pretty; *witchgat*, paw; and the diminutive *schis:* so that four distinct and perfect words would be melted into another, equally per-

* This was the language of the Stockbridges, who were chiefly Mohegans from New York.

† Thus speaks Heckewalder of the Delaware, a kindred dialect of the Mohegan, if not the same.

fect, which would contain only a part of their sounds, but the whole of their meaning. It was justly observed by Cotton Mather, that these compound words were, in a manner, new words. The same author also asserts, that they composed nearly one-half of the Indian languages.

It is surprising that the languages of barbarians should have been so regular in construction, so copious, and, above all, so well adapted to carrying on abstract trains of thought. From the rudeness of their manners and institutions, from their ignorance of the arts and sciences, and from their entire deficiency in a literature, we should naturally conclude that, as the ideas of savage men are few, so their means of expressing them would be limited and imperfect. But the direct reverse of this has been testified, concerning the aboriginal languages of America, by every one who has had the curiosity and patience to examine them. "You must not imagine," says the missionary, Heckewelder, in a letter to Du Ponceau, "that the Indian languages are poor." "It is not easy to find a language," observes the Abbe Clavigero, "so fit for metaphysical subjects, and so abounding in abstract terms, as the Mexican." "Whether savages," says Du Ponceau himself, "have or have not many ideas, I do not determine; but if their ideas are few, their words, to express them, are many. I am lost in astonishment at the copiousness and admirable structure of the American languages."

We need not, however, necessarily conclude, from these observations, that the Indian tongues were superior, or even equal, to our own. It is evident, from the enormous length of many of the words, sometimes occupying a

whole line, that there was something about the structure of these languages which made them cumbersome and difficult to manage.

REFLECTIONS.

We have now examined the social condition of the aborigines of Connecticut, and have seen that, while they possessed some pleasing traits of character, and some few sources of comfort and pleasure, they were still a people purely barbarous, whose nature was unsoftened by a single trait of civilization. Had they remained unmolested, and unvisited by Europeans till the present day, they would now have been as rude, as poor, as warlike, as disdainful of labor, as fond of torturing their enemies, and, in every way, as uncivilized, as when Adraien Block first explored the Connecticut River, and sailed along the virgin shores of Long Island Sound. The country would still have been covered with forests; fish, in multitudes, would still have filled the rivers; shell fish would still have been scattered, in exhaustless profusion, along the shores. Tracks of wild beasts would be found, where now extends the solid pavement, trodden by thousands of human feet; the savage bear would be seen coming out of his hollow tree, where now crowds of intelligent youth are emerging from the seats of learning; the screams of the wild cat, or the panther, would be heard where now resounds the busy hum of machinery, or the sweet melody of sacred music; the land, which is now as the garden of Eden, would then be a desolate wilderness.

Two very different pictures are thus presented to the

mind, in comparing the ancient and modern situation of Connecticut; and between these pictures, few men, at the present day, will hesitate to prefer the one which is adorned with the lights and coloring of civilization. The spirit of the age is altogether adverse to barbarism, even when bedecked with all the feathers of imagination; and the sentimental eloquence of Rousseau, and other philosophers like him, is no longer sufficient to make men wish themselves savages. Neither in Connecticut, therefore, nor in any other civilized community, need we expect to hear an outcry of grief at the fact, that a state of society, such as we have described, has been supplanted by one such as we now see flourishing around us. Our only serious business is to trace the progress of this extraordinary change, and observe the moral and physical phenomena by which it has been attended. As we trace this progress, however, and as we observe these phenomena, we may drop a tear over the grave of the race which has perished, and regret that civilization and christianity have ever accomplished so little for its amelioration.

CHAPTER II.

NAMES, NUMBERS, POSITIONS, AND POLITICAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT TRIBES.

NOTHING can be more obvious, on a little examination, than that the usual estimates of the aboriginal population of Connecticut contain great improbabilities. Even the historian, Trumbull, from whom wiser things might have been expected, seems to have been actuated by an unreflecting disposition to magnify, as much as possible, their importance and numbers. In his account of the different tribes, he usually, if not invariably, selects the largest known estimates, and introduces them into his narrative without the slightest attempt at reasonable criticism. They cannot, he says, be estimated at less than twelve or sixteen, and they might possibly amount to twenty, thousand souls.* This assertion is grounded, in part, upon a passage in Winthrop's Journal, mentioning a report that the Indians of Connecticut River were supposed to muster three or four thousand warriors. This passage was penned in 1633, when the New England colonists had not yet extended beyond Massachusetts Bay; when an impassable bar was reported to exist at the mouth of the Connecticut; when it was said that, during seven months in the year, no vessels could enter it

* Hist. of Conn., Vol. I, p. 27.

on account of the ice and the violence of the stream; and when the Connecticut, with the Hudson, the Potomac, and other large rivers, were supposed to take their rise together out of some huge lake, or some hideous swamp at the north. Such was the knowledge of the English, at that time, respecting the country; and very similar, no doubt, was their information concerning the numbers of its inhabitants.

Again, we are assured by Trumbull, that so late as 1670, the bowmen of the river tribes were still reckoned at 2,000;* and this reckoning, made by nobody knows whom, he evidently introduces as if he considered it a reliable estimate. Yet the term "river tribes" only included the Podunks, the Windsor and Hartford Indians, and the Wangunks; the Podunks were never estimated at more than 200 fighting men, and even that estimate is an absurd exaggeration; the Windsor and Hartford Indians were assuredly not more than twice as numerous; and thus, at the very utmost, our computation will not exceed 600 warriors. Besides, it is absolutely certain, that the aboriginal population of the western part of the State was extremely sparse, and that many portions of it were uninhabited altogether; and the Pequots, who could not muster more than five or six hundred warriors, were probably nearly as numerous as all the other tribes combined. This large estimate of Trumbull, too, is altogether inconsistent with the small numbers which the river tribes were really found to possess after the whites were fairly settled among them. Nations do not melt away in a generation without some powerful cause, not

* Hist. of Conn., Vol. I, p. 27.

even nations of savages; and the Indians of the Connecticut River were swept off by neither famine, nor pestilence, nor war.

Trumbull further informs us that the Indians of Huntington could muster 300 warriors, and were even still more powerful, until they were wasted by the incursions of the Mohawks.* Had this been the case, they would have been little less numerous than the Mohawks themselves; and, combined with their brethren lower down the Housatonic, they would have been, in numbers at least, more than a match for them. Who believes, however, that Huntington then supported a larger population of savage and improvident hunters, than it does now of civilized, industrious, and thrifty agriculturists?† In fact, these Indians were not even a tribe; they were only a fragment of the Paugussetts of Stratford; they existed without performing any action which has been recorded; and they passed away without leaving behind them so much as a name.

Nowhere was the aboriginal population so dense as along the sea-shore, where fishing afforded a surer and more plentiful supply of food than could be obtained by hunting. It was for this reason that the Narragansetts, of Rhode Island, maintained around their bays and creeks a greater number of souls than was contained by any other spot of the same size in New England. If we find, therefore, that the seacoast was thinly peopled, we may reasonably conclude that the remainder of the country

* Hist. of Conn., Vol. I, p. 30.

† According to the United States census, the population of Huntington, in 1840, was 1,326; while three hundred warriors would demand a population of 1,500.

was still more deficient in inhabitants. The Quinnipiacs extended along the shore from Milford to Madison; holding the bay of New Haven, and the little rivers which empty into it, as fishing places. Yet, when they sold their country, in 1638, to Davenport and his associates, they could state the number of men in their tribe at only forty-seven; thus giving, to this considerable tract, a population of two hundred, or, possibly, two hundred and fifty persons.* A district north of this, measuring ten miles north and south, and extending a great part of the way between the Housatonic and the Connecticut rivers, was inhabited by a tribe of only ten warriors.† Such were the insignificant communities among which a large part of the surface of Connecticut was divided. We shall probably make a liberal estimate when we allow twelve hundred warriors for the whole State, and six or seven thousand individuals for its entire aboriginal population.

The seacoast, as I have already mentioned, was the most thickly peopled, and next to this came the country along the courses of the rivers. Wherever some sheltered bay or some natural waterfall produced a good fishing place, there a village was usually formed in which congregated the whole population for many miles around. Connections of friendship were often maintained between the inland and seacoast tribes, for their mutual convenience and benefit. The former came down to the

* Records of New Haven Colony. This number, of forty-seven, comprehended not merely the warriors, that is, those able to bear arms, but all the full grown men, including the lame, the blind, and the superannuated. And as the men could hardly have been less than a fourth of the community, we cannot, in this way, reasonably estimate its numbers at above 200 souls.

† Records of New Haven Colony.

shore to feast on oysters, clams and lobsters; and the latter visited their friends in the country to obtain better hunting, or to enjoy the lamprey eels which, in the spring, swarmed up the rivers. A communication of this kind existed between the Indians of Windsor and those of Milford; individuals of each tribe making visits in the territories of the other, and sometimes prolonging their stay for months, or even exchanging their residence altogether.

The divisions and connections which existed between the various tribes were extremely loose, so as occasionally to make it difficult for us to distinguish one from another. Some small clans seem to have inhabited the coast from Greenwich to Fairfield, but so feeble and insignificant, that not even their names have been preserved from oblivion. A larger population, indeed, existed on this shore about the year 1643, at which time the Long Island and Hudson River tribes fled hither to escape from the hostile vicinity of the Dutch. That period, however, must not be confounded with the present, when the population of this part of the State was probably very far from being considerable. Farther to the east, where Fairfield now stands, lived a small clan said to have been called the Unkowas.* Unkoway, at all events, was the aboriginal name of the spot on which Fairfield is situated.†

There is no longer any doubt that the Paugussetts, who inhabited Stratford, Huntington, and the surrounding townships, and the Wepawaugs, who lived opposite to them, on the east bank of the Housatonic, were but one people. We find the names of the same chieftains appended to the native deeds of sale preserved in the

* Pres. Stiles' Itinerary. † Col. Rec. Vol. I.

records of both Stratford and Milford. We find that Ockenuck or Ockenung, chief sachem of Stratford, was the son of Ansantawae or Nunsantaway, sachem of Milford, and that he set his mark with that of his father to the purchase of Derby. Finally, the Paugussetts, it is said by Trumbull, lived at Derby; and yet we find the Stratford Indians continually applying the name of Paugussetts to themselves, until the whites began to call them the Golden Hill tribe, from their settling on an eminence so called, within the limits of Bridgeport.*

The territories of this clan stretched fifteen or eighteen miles along the coast, and comprehended nearly the present townships of Monroe, Huntington, Trumbull, Bridgeport, Stratford, Milford, Orange and Derby.† In numbers it seems to have been considerable, and large heaps of shells have been found along the coast, showing what must have been the natives' favorite and principal food. These heaps, however, do not necessarily prove the large population which people often suppose; for they were probably the accumulations of centuries, and their foundations may have been laid by some race which came and disappeared before the foot of a Paugussett or Wepawaug ever left its print on these shores. In fact, eating oysters is not such a marvellous feat, that large piles of oyster shells must, of necessity, indicate a great number of consumers. We must consider, also, that as the natives depended little upon agriculture for a subsistence, and as hunting was a less certain and more

* For these particulars, see the records of Stratford and Milford.

† For proof of this, examine the various sales made by the Paugussett or Wepawaug sachems. Records of Stratford and Milford.

laborious mode of supply than fishing, a very large proportion of their food consisted of the produce of the sea, and especially of shell fish.

The Paugussetts who lived in Derby had a fortress on the east bank of the Housatonic River, about half or three-quarters of a mile above its junction with the Naugatuc. To this place of refuge they retreated, after the fashion of the aborigines, whenever they were threatened by any enemy whom they could not oppose in the open field. Another fortification, similar in character to this, existed in Milford, about half a mile above Stratford ferry.* As for the small clan which Trumbull mentions as living at the falls of the Naugatuc, there is no proof, and no probability, that it collected there until a hundred years after the time of which we are now speaking.

Northwest of the Paugussetts, within the limits of Newtown, Southbury, Woodbury and some other townships, resided a clan known as the Potatucks. Their insignificance is sufficiently proved by the almost total silence of authors concerning them, and by their noiseless disappearance.

With this slight exception, the whole country now known as Litchfield County, together with the northern part of Fairfield and the western part of Hartford counties, presented an uninhabited wilderness. The birds built their nests in its forests, without being disturbed by the smoke of a single wigwam; and the wild beasts, who made it their home, were startled by no fires save those of a transient war-party, or a wandering hunter.

Returning to the seashore, we find a slender population

* Trumbull, Vol. I, p. 30.

of Quinnipiacs, stretching from the Wepawaugs on the west, to the Hammonassetts, of Clinton and Killingworth, on the east. The Guilford Indians, it is true, were formerly considered a distinct tribe; but there appears to be good reason for supposing that they were only a portion of the Quinnipiacs. Quosaquash, for instance, one of the men who signed the treaty of New Haven, also put his mark to the deed of sale at Guilford; and the researches of a careful investigator have rendered it certain, that the sachem-squaw of Guilford was no other than Shaumpishuh, sister to Momauguin, the chief of the Quinnipiacs.

The Hammonassetts were few in number, and were headed by a sachem named Sebequanash, or "the man who weeps."

On the Farmington River, eight or ten miles west of the Connecticut, lived a considerable tribe, sometimes called the Sepous, but more commonly the Tunxis. If it was worth while to make estimates based upon nothing, we might perhaps assign to this tribe a population of eighty to one hundred warriors, or about four hundred individuals. The Tunxis were, at an early period, subject to Sequassen,* the sachem who sold Hartford to the English; and they must have formed a part of that great tribe or confederacy, whose principal seat was in the valley of the Connecticut River. Many Indian curiosities have been found in Farmington, and a small but interesting collection of them is preserved in the rooms of the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford. They consist

* "In primis, taken for granted, that the magistrates [of Hartford] bought the whole country to the Moohaks' country of Sequassen, the chief sachem." —*Farmington Records.*

of arrow heads curiously wrought from flint, of stone heads for war axes, of wampum beads, both black and white, and bowls or little mortars laboriously scooped out of stone. One wonders at the labor which must have been spent upon these articles, especially as he examines the brittle substance of the arrow-points, and the slender shape and neat piercing of the shell-beads.

The Indians of Massaco or Simsbury were few in number, and unquestionably formed a portion of the Tunxis.

Floating now down the Farmington to the Connecticut, we shall find the west bank of this river inhabited by a number of clans, obeying different sachems, and yet apparently living in close mutual connection. The same names may, to a certain extent, be found attached to Indian deeds in the town records from Windsor to Middletown, a distance of twenty-five miles. Thus it appears, either that one considerable tribe must have occupied the whole country, or that the various clans were closely united by national alliance and personal intermarriages. My own opinion inclines to the former hypothesis, although it is evident that, in later years, the national compact was pretty thoroughly dissolved, and the little sagamores sold land and performed other acts of sovereignty on their own authority. The Windsor Indians seem to have had their principal seat at Poquonnuc, a place on the Farmington River five or six miles above its junction with the Connecticut. The first sachem known to the English was Sehat or Sheat, who died not long after the settlement of the town, and was succeeded by his nephew, Nassahegon.*

* Windsor Records.

But who was this great sachem of all the "river country," to whose existence we have just adverted? The early Dutch authors speak of such an one, called Sequeen; who was a very powerful chieftain; who maintained a desperate war with the Pequots, and who was only defeated and overcome by them after fighting three bloody battles. I am inclined to believe that this sachem was the same with that Sequassen, or Sunckquasson, who sold Hartford, and the country west of it, to the English. The reasons for this belief will, I think, be made clearly to appear during the course of the history.

Below Hartford, and stretching to a considerable distance south of Middletown, we find a population which, in after times at least, was known as a distinct tribe, under the name of Wangunks. Their chieftain, Sowheag, was sometimes called, by the English, Sequin; although this was apparently not his real name, but only another version of the word *sachem* or king. When first known to the whites, he resided at Pyquaug, or Wethersfield;* but afterwards, on account of a quarrel with the settlers, removed to Mattabesett, now Middletown. This circumstance led Trumbull into the mistake of making two persons out of one, by saying that there was a sachem at Pyqaug, named Sequin, who was subject to a greater sachem at Mattabesett, named Sowheag.† Thus,

* "Soheage, an Indian sachem of Pyquagg." Col. Rec., Vol. I, p. 19.

† Hist. of Conn., Vol. I, p. 27. I at one time imagined that Sowheag might be the same with Sequassen; but this idea was dashed by a passage in the XXXIII Volume of the Mass. Hist. Coll., (p. 161,) where they are explicitly spoken of as two different persons: the one being called Sasawin or Sequassen, sachem of Sicaogg, (Hartford;) the other Soheage or Sequin, sachem of Matabeseck, (Middletown.)

even the errors of this historian served to give color to his exaggerated suppositions concerning the numbers of the aborigines.

Southwest of the principal seats of the Wangunks, a large extent of country was held by a son of Sowheag, named Montowese. I have already mentioned that the able bodied men in his tribe were only ten in number. His mother must have been the daughter and heiress of some deceased sachem, for it was through her that he obtained his land.*

Having passed over the whole western part of the State, we now cross the Connecticut, where we shall find, in some portions at least, a more thickly settled population. In the towns of East Windsor and East Hartford lived the Podunks, who were governed, when first known to the English, by two sachems, Waghinacut and Arramament. The Podunks were closely connected with the Indians who lived on the opposite side of the river, as may be perceived by examining the native deeds in the early records of Windsor. Thus, when the land between the Scantic and Podunk Rivers was sold, and the deed was signed by Arramament and ten others, among these signers were Sheat and Cogrenosset, both Indians of Poquonnuc in Windsor, and the former sachem of Poquonnuc.†

Haddam and East Haddam, with both banks of the Connecticut for some distance further down, were inhabited by a clan inconsiderable in numbers, but famous on account of its peculiar superstitions. None of the

* Records of New Haven Colony. † Windsor Records.

other aborigines of Connecticut were so given to powwowings, to sacrifices, and to religious ceremonies. The cause of this peculiarity was remarkable. In the township of East Haddam, at the junction of Moodus and Salmon Rivers, and within plain sight of the Connecticut, stands a considerable eminence, now known as Mount Tom. Even of late years, strange noises and rumblings are said to have been heard at times in the bowels of this mountain, and slight shocks, as of an earthquake, have been felt through the surrounding country. But in ancient days, if tradition speaks true, and if the writers of those times are worthy of credit, these shocks and noises were far more violent than now, and were sometimes truly wonderful. Chimneys have been untopped; walls have been thrown down; heavy stones removed from their places; large fissures opened in the bosom of the earth. The astonished inhabitants have heard terrible roarings in the atmosphere. They have heard loud noises following each other in rapid succession, and resembling volleys of musketry. They have heard sounds like slow thunder rolling down from the north, and at last closing with a loud report. which shook the houses and every thing in them. Such are the stories which have reached us concerning these noises, and which were evidently believed by those who have left them on record. It is natural to suppose, that at no time were these phenomena more common, or more extraordinary, than when the winds sighed heavily through unbroken forests, when ancient trees sometimes fell by their own weight in the lonely woodlands, and when the place was only inhabited by an ignorant and superstitious people, whose senses

were easily led astray by their imaginations. Machemoodus, therefore, was believed to be the peculiar residence of Hobbamock; and here the Indians held their greatest powwows, and, as a writer of early times expressed it, "drove a prodigious trade at worshiping the devil." We know nothing of the size of this clan; and, in fact, it was probably a mere fragment of the Wangunks, or, more properly, of that great tribe which occupied the valleys of the Connecticut and the Farmington.*

Moving still farther down the Connecticut, we reach the territories of the Western Nehantics, who extended from the river Connecticut, eastward along the seashore, to a small stream which retains their name. They seem to have been not inconsiderable in numbers, by their still retaining an existence; yet they never furnished any noted characters, never performed any remarkable exploit, and will fill but a small space in the subsequent narrative.

Tolland and Windham counties were sparsely inhabited by small communities of the Nipmucks; a tribe, or collection of tribes, whose principal seats were in the southern townships of this part of Massachusetts. They had no grand sachem of their own, and were subject, sometimes to one, sometimes to another, of the more powerful communities around them.

* Those who wish to see a more extended account of the "Moodus noises," will find it most convenient to consult Barber's Historical Collections of Connecticut, p. 524. A manuscript memoir on the subject, by Rev. Charles Bradley, exists in the Library of the Historical Society at Hartford. The noises and shocks have been heard and felt in the present century, but few and slight compared with those said to have been perceived in ancient times.

Last of all we come to the Pequots; the most numerous, the most warlike, the fiercest and the bravest of all the aboriginal clans of Connecticut. From the Niantic River, on the west, their forts and wigwams extended along the rude and stony hills of New London County to Wecapaug, ten miles east of the Paucatuc River which divides Connecticut from Rhode Island.* They reached back, also, to a considerable distance from the seashore, their northernmost community, afterwards known as the Mohegans, residing on the banks of the Thames, ten or twelve miles from the Sound. We are told that Sassacus, their last grand-sachem, had twenty-six sagamores under him; and that the number of warriors, whom he could muster from all his clans, was seven hundred. This estimate, compared with the population in the rest of the State, is extremely large; and, judging from some circumstances in Pequot history, it would appear to be considerably exaggerated. Let us examine.

The territory claimed by the Pequots, as their own peculiar dwelling-place, may be estimated at thirty miles in length by fifteen to twenty in breadth, or about five hundred square miles. Seven hundred warriors, with one warrior to every five persons, would give a population of three thousand five hundred individuals, or seven to every square mile. Yet the territory of the Quinnipiacs, also lying on the seacoast, had not more than one inhabitant to the square mile; while that of Montowese, which lay no further back than the northern part of the Pequot country, had nearly three square miles to every member

* Roger Williams' Letter to Mason. Rhode Island Historical Collections, Vol. III, p. 161.

of its population. A comparison of these results forms one ground, although by no means a decisive one, for suspecting that the numbers of the Pequots have been exaggerated.

Further: when Endicott landed on their coasts, in 1636, to force from them a treaty of submission, he alarmed the whole country, and stayed long enough for the entire tribe to collect; yet the largest estimate of the warriors who made their appearance was only three hundred. When Mason, also, accomplished his successful expedition, he marched through the entire length of the Pequot territory, from east to west, without meeting with a single wigwam, except the seventy which were contained in Mystic Fort. These facts, certainly, and especially the last, must be considered as indicating a very sparse population.

Mason, it is true, says that seven hundred Pequots perished in the defeat at Mystic; and if we grant this to be correct, we shall probably have to allow the tribe, at least six hundred warriors. But it is Mason alone who makes this statement. Underhill, who was likewise an eye-witness, estimates the number of victims at four hundred; and Winthrop, who was a cotemporary, states them at only three hundred. Still, considering the numbers who perished during the war, and the numbers who still remained when it was over, I think we must concede to the Pequots a body of five, and, possibly, six hundred native warriors.

The Pequots and Mohegans were, apparently, of the same race with the Mohicans, Mohegans, or Mohicanders, who lived on the banks of the Hudson. At no very an-

cient date, and, perhaps, not long before 1600, it is supposed that they resided among their relations; at which time the country from the Housatonic to the western shores of Narragansett Bay was probably inhabited entirely by tribes of a single race. There is strong reason to believe that all the Connecticut clans, except the Pequots, were only fragments of one great tribe, or confederacy of tribes, the principal branches of which were the Nehantics and the Narragansetts. The Nehantics of Lyme, for instance, were clearly related to the Nehantics of Rhode Island; Sequassen, chief of the Farmington and Connecticut River countries, was a connection of the Narragansett sachems; and the Indians of Windsor, subjects of Sequassen, were closely united to the Wepawaugs of Milford. Thus, various connections might be traced between the Narragansetts and the tribes of western Connecticut, while both united in holding the Pequots in abhorrence, and seldom bore any other relations to them than those of enemies, or of unwilling subjects.

It is not likely that the Pequots were driven from the banks of the Hudson by war, since their brethren, the other portions of the Mohegan race, long continued to remain there undisturbed. They probably departed because their country was unable to support so large a population of hunters, just as the ancient Goths and Germans left their overpeopled forests to seek some country where they could find an easier subsistence. Migrating towards the east, they perhaps moved along the southern border of Massachusetts until they had crossed the Connecticut River, when they changed their course to the southward, and descended upon the seashore. All the

traditions of the Indians on the history of the Pequots agreed in asserting that they migrated from the north shortly before the arrival of the English. They may have been many years on their journey from the Hudson, and may have settled for some time in the northern parts of Connecticut. Their final irruption, however, must have been violent and sudden; for one band of the Nehantics was separated from the rest of the tribe, and has ever since borne the name of Western Nehantics, and retained a distinct existence. The rest of the Nehantics were probably driven violently over the Paucatuc, where they ever afterwards remained, more or less mingled with the Narragansetts.

The Pequots now found themselves in possession of a large extent of country well adapted to their wants; but were, at the same time, completely surrounded by enemies. Their fierce spirit quailed not under this danger, and they maintained their hold on the conquered territory with a tenacity equal to the boldness with which they had seized it. They did more: their war-parties carried terror and trembling among the numerous Narragansetts on the east, and swept with the resistless force of a tornado over the slender tribes which bordered them on the west. The most powerful chieftain among these tribes, at that time, was the one known to the Dutch by the name, or rather the title, of Sequeen, whom we have supposed to be Sequassen. With this sachem the Pequots soon came in collision; and three battles were fought between them before the question of superiority was decided. Sequassen was completely overthrown, was compelled to submit to the invaders, and remained

their subject until he was relieved by another race of strangers, more gentle in appearance, but really more dangerous, than the first.* All this part of the Connecticut valley, therefore, fell into the hands of the Pequots, as well as the whole country between that river and the territories of the Narragansetts. The western Nehantics became their allies, or, what is more likely, their tributaries. The powwowings of the Machemoodus probably availed little against their superior numbers and ferocity. Advancing along the seacoast the Pequots conquered it as far as the bay of New Haven, and obliged the Quinnipiacs to submit to their authority and pay them tribute.

On the south they sailed across the Sound in canoes, conquered Manisses or Block Island, and extorted tribute from the eastern inhabitants of Sewan Hacky, or Long Island.

During all this time they appear to have been carrying on an unceasing contest with the great tribe of Narragansetts, who inhabited the country which now constitutes the State of Rhode Island. The shores of the islands, of the bays, of the creeks, and of the inlets, which abound on this coast, then furnished an inexhaustible supply of fish; and here, accordingly, was collected the densest aboriginal population in New England, and, probably, in the whole limits of the United States. It was all the denser, because the irruption of the Pequots had lately driven out the original inhabitants of the country between the Niantic and the Paucatuc. Yet credulity itself must stare with astonishment, when told that the Narragansetts could furnish thirty thousand,† that they

* See O'Callaghan's Hist. of New Netherlands, Vol. I, p. 149.

† Johnson. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XIV, p. 42.

could even furnish five thousand* fighting men. In 1676, when fear and anxiety sufficiently disposed the colonists to over estimate the strength of the then hostile Narragansetts, their warriors were only calculated at two thousand. Two years before, Gookin, a writer well informed on Indian matters, stated them with more moderation, and undoubtedly with more correctness, at only one thousand.† During the previous forty years there had been, doubtless, some diminution, yet it is impossible to believe that their numbers had sunk away by four, or even by three, fifths. In fact, that diminution; which usually takes place in a barbarous people, on being brought in contact with a civilized race, although sufficiently rapid to shock the feelings of philanthropy, is yet less rapid than is commonly believed. When a savage tribe is first discovered, its numbers are almost invariably over estimated: when better known, those numbers are found to be less than were formerly supposed; and it is therefore taken for granted, that, in the meantime, they have diminished. Those who wish to see an example of how this fallacious conclusion may be easily reached, should compare the estimates made by Capt. Cook of the population of the South Sea Islands, with what has been ascertained concerning that population at the present day. Doubtless the inhabitants of Tahiti have diminished since they were first discovered; but who believes that they have diminished from four hundred thousand to twenty thousand? Let us take it for granted, then, that in 1676, the Narragansetts had, according to the estimate of

* Brinley. Mass Hist. Coll., Vol. V, p. 216

† Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 148.

Gookin, one thousand warriors. Let us suppose that, in the previous forty years, this number had decreased by two hundred. Let us remember that a decrease of two hundred fighting men would involve the very considerable diminution in the whole population of one thousand souls. We shall thus arrive at the fair and just conclusion, that, at the time of which we are now speaking, the Narragansetts, including the Nehantics, could muster about twelve hundred warriors.

They were, however, far superior in number to their rivals, the Pequots, and were inferior to them in influence, only because they were inferior in ferocity, in enterprise, and in a passion for war. They were the most superstitious of all the considerable tribes of New England; being greatly under the influence of their powwows, and much given to the practice of religious rites and ceremonial dances. They were also more civilized, more ingenuous, and more disposed than any of their neighbors to undergo the fatigues of manual labor. Their wigwams were more than ordinarily comfortable, their canoes and utensils neatly constructed, and in all the ruder arts of life they had made greater advances than any of the surrounding tribes. Thus their character was milder, and their manners more refined, than those of the Pequots; nor were they always inferior to them in magnanimity and courage, as the examples of Miantinomo and Canonchet sufficiently prove. Besides carrying on war with the Pequots, they sometimes fought with a tribe to the north of them, well known to us as the Pokanokets, and still better known as the tribe of the good Massasoit, and of his gallant but unfortunate son, King Philip. Indeed they at one time

reduced them to pay tribute; though (as Massasoit asserted) not because they were superior in war, but solely because the Pokanokets had been wasted by a grievous sickness.

Elated with their uninterrupted success, borne on by the confidence which attends a course of prosperous aggression, the Pequots went on, conquering and to conquer, until they met a bolder and fiercer race coming towards them from the west. About the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Iroquois, or Five Nations, were driven from Canada by the Adirondacks, a confederacy of Algonquins. Undismayed by their reverses, they turned their arms against the Satanas or Shawnees, defeated them, and then renewed the contest with their old enemies. Their efforts were now attended with success; and from this time they rapidly rose to be the first native power east of the Mississippi. Their war parties ranged from Hudson's Bay on the north to the mountains of Tennessee on the south; from the Connecticut on the east to the Mississippi on the west; and every Indian nation within these vast boundaries trembled at the name of the Akonoshioni or United People. The natives of Connecticut did not escape, but were exposed every year to the ravages of these terrible destroyers. Whether they found the northwestern part of the State unoccupied, or whether they killed and drove away its inhabitants, is uncertain; but they left it a desert. Their war parties passed, without meeting a human being, through the forests of Litchfield County, to fall suddenly and silently upon the villages along the seashore or in the valley of the Connecticut River. Their very appearance excited

consternation; a cry of alarm would extend from hill to hill, and the natives would fly for safety to swamps and thickets, or to their fortresses. A large part of the inhabitants of the country west of the Connecticut became their subjects; and every year two old Mohawks might be seen going from village to village to collect tribute, and haughtily issuing orders from the great council at Onondaga. All the Iroquois were known in New England by the name of Mohawks, because that tribe, the oldest and most warlike in the confederacy, lived to the eastward of the others, and was oftenest seen this side of the Hudson. The Six Nations seem never to have come in hostile contact with the Pequots; and thus the natives of western Connecticut were cruelly oppressed by two fierce enemies who had no quarrel with each other.

We will now return to the Pequots. The names of some of the early sachems of this tribe have been preserved in a genealogy of the Uncas family, as it was made out by Uncas himself in 1679. The first whose name is mentioned was Tamaquashad, of whom no particulars are given, but who must have lived about the time when the Pequots first established themselves in Connecticut, or perhaps when they first set out on their pilgrimage from the Hudson. The next in succession was Muckquntdowas, who lived at a place called Awcumbucks, situated in the heart of the Pequot country. His wife was named Meekunump, and he had two children; Woipeguand, who became sachem after him; and a daughter, called like her mother, Meekunump, who was married to Oweneco, the father of Uncas. Woipeguand married a daughter of Wekoum, chief sachem of Narra-

gansett; and, when he died, was succeeded by his son, Wopigwooit. Wopigwooit was the same with that Wapequart mentioned by the Dutch authors, and undoubtedly, also, with that Pekoath, who is spoken of by Winthrop.* The son of Wopigwooit was Tatobam, otherwise called Sassacus, the most famous and the most unfortunate of the Pequot grand sachems.

About ten years previous to the war of the Pequots with the English, that is about 1626, Uncas, the son of Oweneco and Meekunump, married a daughter of Sassacus, thus connecting himself still more closely with the royal line of his tribe. The claims which he in this manner acquired and strengthened, afterwards contributed to the downfall of his nation, but finally resulted in raising Uncas himself to considerable influence, and to independent power. In fact, this Uncas, son of Oweneco a Pequot sagamore, and father of another Oweneco like himself a Mohegan sachem, will be one of the most remarkable, and one of the most important characters, who ever will occupy a place in the succeeding narrative.

Thus closes my account of the names, positions and strength of the aboriginal tribes of Connecticut, as I have been able to gather it from what seemed the most reliable authorities. It will probably diminish somewhat the romantic interest connected with these barbarous com-

* At the time Winthrop penned this, Connecticut had not been settled; and he probably mistook the name of the tribe for that of the chieftain. Such mistakes might easily occur in the intercourse between the English and the natives, neither of whom had much knowledge of each other's language. Pequot or Pequod is not, perhaps, more unlike Pekoath than it is to Pequin or Pequetan, by both which names this tribe is mentioned in early writings of New England.

munities, by diminishing to so great an extent what were supposed to be their ancient numbers. But it will serve to explain to us their subsequent decrease and almost entire disappearance, without obliging us to suspect our ancestors of an amount of injustice and cruelty of which they were never guilty. Few in numbers at the time of their discovery, it is likewise probable that the natives of Connecticut were increasing very slowly, if increasing at all. The small size of their families, the fatal nature of their few diseases, the hardships and privations to which they were continually exposed, and the constant wars which they waged with each other and with their neighbors, form sufficient grounds for believing that such was the fact. A close balance being thus kept up between the number of births and the number of deaths, some new destructive influences, however feeble, were sufficient to destroy that balance, and gradually sink the native races even to the point of national extermination. These influences were fearfully supplied, chiefly by the novel varieties of disease and vice unavoidably contracted in the intercourse with a civilized people. The ruinous war maintained by one tribe against the English must indeed be taken into consideration; but the results of this war can be computed with tolerable exactness, and will by no means account for so entire and gradual a disappearance of a race.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE FIRST DISCOVERY OF CONNECTICUT IN 1614 TO THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE PEQUOTS IN 1637.

We come now to the period of the first discovery of Connecticut, and the first intercourse of its inhabitants with Europeans. In 1614, six years before the settlement at Plymouth, three distinguished Dutch navigators, Adraien Block, Hendrick Corstiaensen, and Cornelis Mey, arrived, on an exploring expedition, at the mouth of the Hudson River. Having visited a Dutch settlement of four houses, already commenced on the Island of Manhattan, they separated, and each sailed in a different direction. Corstiaensen passed round to the eastern coast of New England, while Mey examined the southern shore of Long Island, and then explored southward as far as Delaware Bay. Adraien Block, a persevering, enterprising man, had the misfortune to lose his vessel, by fire, shortly after his arrival in the Hudson. Not at all discouraged by this accident, he immediately laid the frame of a yacht, forty-four and a half feet long, and eleven feet and a half wide, completed it, and called it the Restless. Embarking in this little vessel, he passed through the East River, to which he gave the name of Hellegat, and entered Long Island Sound, then supposed to be a deep bay. On the right and left stretched unknown, unvisited shores, low and green, sandy along the edge of the water, but in

the interior waving with trees. Leaving Long Island, then called Metoac or Sewan Hacky, (land of shells,) he sailed along the un-named and hitherto unexplored coast of Connecticut. He gave to the small islands at the mouth of the Norwalk River the name of Archipelagoes, and farther on, discovering the mouth of the gentle Housatonic, he called it the River of the Red Mountain. Continuing his voyage eastward, he came to the mouth of a considerable stream which he named the Fresh River, but which was no other than the pride of New England, the noble Connecticut. He ascended the river, with his little vessel, as high as forty-one degrees and forty-eight minutes, or about half way between the present city of Hartford and village of Windsor. Here he found an Indian fort, or village, belonging to a tribe whom he called the Nawaas: a nomenclature afterwards unknown, and probably founded on some mistake of the voyager. From this point, turning his course down the river, he re-entered the Sound, and sailed on until he discovered its eastern opening into the main ocean. Before leaving the coast, he discovered and explored the Narragansett Bay, to which he gave the name of Nassau Bay. He also had some intercourse with the inhabitants of its shores, whom he describes as being of a shy disposition. He calls them Nahicans, and, from the faint resemblance between the words, it seems probable that they were the Nehantics. Such was the discovery of Connecticut.*

Not long after this, the Dutch traders began to visit the country every year, and soon established a large trade with the natives; buying annually, it was said, not less

* O Callaghan, Vol. I. pp. 72, 73.

than ten thousand beaver skins, besides such other commodities as the country could furnish.*

The Dutch settlements on the Hudson were at first conducted by the United Company of the New Netherlands; but this corporation was replaced in 1621 by another, far more extensive and powerful, the famous West India Company. In 1632, Hans Eencluys, a servant of the company, landed at the mouth of the Connecticut, purchased a point of land from the natives, and erected there the arms of the States General of the Netherlands. This spot he named Kievet's Hook, from the cry of a species of bird known to us as the *peweet*, but called by the Dutch, *kieveet*. His object was to secure to the company the trade of the river valley, a design which Van Twiller, Governor of the New Netherlands, prosecuted on a greater scale during the following year. He sent Jacob Van Curler and a party of men to the Connecticut valley, with orders to purchase a tract of land which had already been selected, and erect and fortify a trading post upon it. This spot was on the west bank of the river, and covered a portion of the ground now occupied by the city of Hartford. There were two parties to which he might apply for a purchase: the Pequots, who claimed the country by right of conquest; and Sequeen or Sequassen, the former sachem, who now, it seems, was an exile. Van Curler took the most natural course, and applied to Wapyquart, or Wopigwooit, the grand sachem of the Pequots, whom he styles in the treaty, chief of Sickenames (Mystic) River, and owner of the Connecticut. Wopigwooit was nothing loth to sell lands so far from his own

* Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 113.

fortresses, and which, perhaps, he held by an uncertain tenure; and, on the eighteenth of June, 1633, a treaty of sale and purchase was effected between the two parties. A tract of land one Dutch mile in length along the river, and extending one third of a mile into the country, was passed over, by the Pequots, into the possession of the Dutch. For this territory Wopigwooit received twenty-seven ells of a kind of coarse cloth called duffals, six axes, six kettles, eighteen knives, one sword blade, one pair of shears, and some toys. At the request of an Indian named Altarbaenhoet, probably a sagamore of the river tribes, the Dutch obtained permission from Wopigwooit that Sequeen might return to his country and take up his residence at or near the trading house. It was declared in the deed that Sequassen accepted this offer with the knowledge of Magarittinne, chief of Sloop's Bay: this being the name which the Dutch gave to the western part of Narragansett Bay. These circumstances serve to identify Sequassen with the Sequeen here mentioned: for Sequassen, as we shall subsequently see, sold a vast tract around Hartford to the English, as chief sachem of the country; and Sequassen, too, will be mentioned as a relation and a close ally of the Narragansett chieftains.

The little territory thus purchased was made free for purposes of trade to all nations of Indians: it was to be a territory of peace: the hatchet was to be buried there: no warrior was to molest his enemy while within its bounds. Van Curler erected on it a small trading fort, armed it with two pieces of cannon, and named it the House of Good Hope.*

* O'Callaghan, Vol. I, pp. 149—151.

The Pequots soon broke through the above conditions, by killing some Indians, their enemies, who came to the house to trade. The Dutch were so incensed at this act of violence, that, to punish it, they, in some way or other, contrived to despatch Wopigwooit and several of his men. The old chieftain was succeeded by his son Sassacus, a renowned warrior and a noble and high-spirited man, but doomed to be the last grand sachem of his tribe. A desultory war ensued between the Dutch and Pequots, which lasted some months, if not a year or two, and, of course, interrupted the trade which had opened between the two parties.* These events were, it would seem, of considerable importance in their bearing on the future history of the tribe, as I think the subsequent narrative will show. It seems at least possible that it was the death of Wopigwooit which led to the fatal massacre of Stone and his crew; and it is certain, that it was the loss of the Dutch trade which induced the Pequots to invite the English of Massachusetts Bay to settle in Connecticut.

The Puritans, or pilgrims, had now been established thirteen years on the shores of this bay; and, although their numbers did not much exceed two thousand, they already began to complain of being cramped for want of room. Their increasing strength commanded the respect of the surrounding natives; and the smaller tribes seem to have conceived the idea of obtaining, by their protection, freedom from the oppression of the larger ones. As early as April, 1631, a sagamore named Waghinacut, probably a Podunk, came to Massachusetts for the pur-

* O'Callaghan and Winthrop, *passim*.

pose of inducing the English to send a colony to his part of the country. Accompanied by John Sagamore, an inconsiderable sachem living between the Charles and Mystic* Rivers, and by an Indian named Jack Straw, who had been in England and spoke English, he called on Governor Winthrop in Boston. He explained that he wanted some of the English to settle in his country on the great river Connecticut; offered, if they would do so, to provide them with corn, and give them eighty skins of beaver; boasted of the fertility of the land, and asked that, to verify his statements, two men might be sent to explore it. Winthrop entertained the sachem and his friends at dinner; but could not be persuaded to promise a settlement, or even to send people to examine the country. He afterwards found, as he says, that Waghinacut was a very treacherous man, and was at war with a far greater sachem named Pekoath.†

At Plymouth, Waghinacut was equally unsuccessful, although the people of that colony were more disposed than the Bostonians to undertake the settlement.

But a greater degree of enterprise was soon awakened among the English by the reports of the immense trade in furs which the Dutch were carrying on in the Connecticut valley. Winthrop sent a letter to Governor Van Twiller, protesting against his settlements on that river as interfering with the charter of New England. The colonists began to dispatch vessels to Connecticut to trade, and several were thus sent at least as early as 1633. During the same year, John Oldham, who was afterwards killed by the Block Islanders, travelled across the country,

* The Mystic in Massachusetts. † Winthrop's Journal, Vol. I, p. 52.

with three companions, to the Connecticut River. Here one of the sachems of the land entertained them in hospitable style, and made them a present of some beaver skins. They carried back to Massachusetts a specimen of the wild hemp which grew in the country, and reported that it contained many desirable places of settlement capable of supporting many hundreds of inhabitants.* In July, therefore, of 1633, Winslow and Bradford, of Plymouth, made a proposition to the government of Massachusetts, to establish a trading post on the Connecticut, for obtaining hemp and furs. Governor Winthrop refused, alledging the unfavorable reports which had been received from other quarters respecting the country. The river, he said, was held by warlike tribes of Indians who could raise three or four thousand warriors; there was a bar at its mouth so shallow that it could be crossed, even at high water, only by small pinnaces; and, for seven months in the year, no vessel could navigate the river at all on account of the ice and the violence of the stream. Undiscouraged by these representations the Plymouth people determined to effect the settlement alone; and in October, of the very same year, William Holmes was sent thither with a vessel, a small company of men, and the frame of a house. He sailed up the river, passed the Dutch Fort, at Hartford, in spite of the remonstrances and threats of the garrison, and erected his trading-house in the present township of Windsor, a little below the junction of the Farmington with the Connecticut.†

* Winthrop's Journal, Vol. I, p. 111.

† Trumbull, Vol I, pp. 20, 21. Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 113.

Holmes is said to have brought back, in his vessel, the original sachems of the country, who had been driven away by the Pequots; and to have made his purchase of the country from them.* Thus, on the very first settlement of the English in Connecticut, they offered a distinct, though, perhaps, an unintentional, insult and injury, to the most powerful tribe in the country. The Pequots had conquered this portion of the Connecticut valley; and had obliged its original owners to submit to their authority. Their claim had been acknowledged by the Dutch; it was confirmed by immemorial Indian custom;† and it was at least as just as that by which some civilized and christianized nations hold large portions of the globe. It was highly praiseworthy, indeed, for the English to pay a suitable sum to the original owners of the soil; but they ought, in justice, as well as policy, to have bestowed some respect upon the well known claim of the Pequots. Two reasons probably operated to prevent them from doing this: one that they may have considered the Pequots robbers and intruders; the other that, by refusing to acknowledge the Pequot title, they could, with a better appearance of reason, deny the justice of that of the Dutch. The offended tribe, however, did not make this an immediate occasion of hostility with the English; although we know not how much influence it may have had upon its policy towards them on another occasion and at a subsequent time. It was not until afterwards that the event occurred, which may be considered as the

* Prince's Chron., Part II, Sec. 2. New England's Memorial, 1633.

† For proof of this custom, see the depositions of various Indian sachems preserved in the papers on Towns and Lands, Vol. I, Doc. 67.

germ of that hostility, which eventually sprung up between the Pequots and the English.

During the summer of 1633, Captain Stone, a dissolute, intemperate man, came in a small vessel from Virginia to trade on the coast of New England. After remaining a short time at Massachusetts Bay, and causing the magistrates some trouble by his disorderly conduct, he sailed, with a Captain Norton and seven others on board, for the Connecticut River. Before long a report came back to Boston, that Stone and his whole company had been killed, his vessel burned, and the plunder taken from it divided between the Pequots and Nehantics. It was said that, on reaching the mouth of the river, Stone opened a trade with the natives and sent three of his crew on shore to hunt for wild fowl. The Indians appeared perfectly friendly, and were suffered to come on board and loiter about the little vessel at pleasure. Stone finally went to sleep in the cabin, in presence of the sachem; and the rest of the crew collected unsuspiciously and without any precautions in the galley. Meantime the three men on shore had been attacked by a party of Indians and put to death, either by surprise, or so far off that the noise of the conflict could not be heard. When the chief thought proper he knocked out the brains of the unconscious captain; and, on the instant, his followers seized the fire-arms about the vessel and presented them at the startled English. One of the latter, however, aimed a musket in his own defense; and, such was the fear of the natives for this weapon in the hands of a white man, that they all leaped overboard at once. But, in the rush and confusion, a quantity of powder ignited, and blew up the

vessel, destroying the greater part, if not all, of the little crew. The Indians now climbed on board again, dispatched any who might have remained alive, and plundered the cargo.* Such was one of the accounts of this transaction which circulated among the English colonists. The perpetrators in the tragedy were undoubtedly Pequots, although among them there may have been some of their tributaries, the Western Nehantics. The English made no immediate attempts to punish them; but it was not long before circumstances took place which gave them a favorable opportunity of demanding satisfaction.

The position of the Pequots was at this time by no means so favorable as it had been; and uninterrupted success and conquest no longer seemed to follow on their war paths. They could not press back the Narragansetts with so firm a hand as formerly, and they had even lost the sovereignty of Block Island, which appears to have passed lately under the domination of the Nehantics.† Their authority had been thrown off by the Indians in the upper valley of the Connecticut, encouraged and incited, doubtless, to this act, by the presence and advice of the Dutch, if not of the English, traders. Besides this, Uncas, sagamore of Mohegan, had, since the death of Wopigwooit, broken out into open rebellion. Lastly, their war with the Dutch, while it cost them the lives of a number of their warriors, probably gave them still more annoyance by breaking up an intercourse which they had sufficient acuteness to perceive was not only a source of amusement but of profit and power.

In the following year, as the war with the Dutch still

* Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 123. † Roger Williams' Letters.

continued, Sassacus resolved to make an effort to conciliate the English, and obtain for his people some portion of their trade. During the month of October, 1634, a Pequot messenger arrived at the Bay, bringing, according to the fashion of Indian ambassadors, a present from his sachem, which he presented to the deputy governor, Roger Ludlow. He also laid down two bundles of sticks, indicative of the number of beaver and other skins which the Pequots would give the English, and promised that they should be accompanied by a large amount of wampum. He then demanded a league between his people and the pale faces. Ludlow accepted the present which was made to himself, and gave, in return, a moose coat of equal value for the Pequot chieftain. But, as the messenger was a man of low rank, he told him that Sassacus must show his respect for the English by sending deputies of greater quality than he, and enough of them, before he could treat with the authorities of the colonies. This answer was highly proper, inasmuch as it was in accordance with the customs of the Indians, among whom embassies to states of importance were always committed to persons of rank and consideration.

The messenger departed, and a fortnight afterwards two Pequot sagamores arrived at the residence of Ludlow, bringing another present. The deputy governor received them with civility and conducted them to Boston, where negotiations were opened, although Dudley, the Governor, was still absent. The sagamores were told that the English were desirous of peace with their tribe, but would never consent to a treaty till the Pequots had surrendered the murderers of Stone, and made restitution for the

plunder and destruction of his vessel. The Indians did not deny that their nation was responsible for the murder, but asserted that Stone had provoked his fate by his violent and alarming conduct. They said that, on entering the Connecticut, he forcibly seized two Indians of that region, and kept them on board his vessel to make them pilot it up the river. After a while he and two of his men landed, taking with them the two captives, with their hands still closely bound behind them. Nine Indians watched the party, and at night, when the English had gone to sleep on the shore, they killed them and liberated their countrymen. The vessel, with the remainder of the crew, was afterwards blown up; but of this they knew nothing, neither the manner, nor the cause. They stated in addition that the sachem whom they had when Stone was put to death, had been killed by the Dutch; and that all the Indians concerned in the murder had died of the small pox except two. These, they cautiously added, Sassacus would probably be willing to deliver to the English, provided the guilt could be proved upon them.

Such was the story of the Pequot ambassadors; and it was related with such an appearance of truth that the English, who had no good evidence to the contrary, were strongly inclined to believe it. The conditions of a treaty were agreed upon, and the paper being drawn up was signed by both parties. The English were to have as much land in the country of the Connecticut as they needed, provided they would make a settlement; and the Pequots were to give them all possible assistance in effecting their settlement. The Pequots were to sur-

render the two murderers, whenever they were demanded; and to pay the English forty beaver skins, thirty otter skins, and four hundred fathoms of wampum. They were likewise to give all their custom to the English, who, on the other hand, were to send them a vessel immediately, not to defend them, but to trade with them. Such was the substance of the treaty between the Pequots and the colony of Massachusetts Bay, made and signed in November, 1634.*

The morning after the business was concluded, Boston was thrown into a hubbub by the report that two or three hundred Narragansetts were waiting at a place called Neponsett to kill the Pequot messengers on their way home. A few armed citizens were collected and marched away to Neponsett, with a message to the Narragansetts to come and have a talk with the governor. Then was seen the value of Indian reports; for no doubt this story was brought in by some of the Indians of the neighboring country. On reaching Neponsett the white men found only two sagamores, with about twenty warriors, who said that they were out on a hunting expedition, and had come hither simply to make their old friends at Neponsett a visit. Whether this story was true or not, they at all events showed themselves quite ready to oblige the English. and allowed the two ambassadors to depart unmolested.†

The authorities of the colony now undertook to negotiate a peace between the two hostile tribes. For this purpose they offered the Narragansetts a part of the wampum which was to be paid by the Pequots. This

* Winthrop, Vol. I, pp. 147—149. † Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 149.

was in accordance with the wish of the Pequot deputies, who had commissioned them to do so, and had promised so large a quantity as four hundred fathoms for no other purpose.* The circumstance shows the pride of Sassacus, who was desirous to obtain peace, but unwilling to ask it directly of his ancient and hereditary enemies. The Narragansetts do not seem to have been more averse to peace than the Pequots, for it is clear that a treaty was concluded between the two tribes which continued till the fall of 1636

It is almost needless to remark upon the Christian and magnanimous character of the policy which the colonists pursued, in thus promoting amity and alliance between two powerful tribes, either of which might be a formidable barrier against their own advancement in wealth and numbers. Had they been actuated by selfish considerations, they would have endeavored to weaken these potent clans by fomenting their divisions; and, at all events, they would not have strengthened their hands by joining them in friendship and union. Religion, however, taught them a different policy: and in this instance, as in others, they acted in conformity to its precepts The path which our ancestors followed in their dealings with the Indians was often illumined by the beams of equity and humanity as well as sometimes shrouded in the darkness of injustice and cruelty.

The English soon began to found settlements in the country, as indeed they would have done had they formed no treaty to that effect with the Pequots. A few men came over, by land, through the forests, and settled

* Winthrop Vol. I. p. 149.

in a rude manner at Wethersfield, some thirty miles up the Connecticut River. They suffered great hardships from cold and hunger during the first winter; and some of them would, perhaps, have perished, had it not been for the friendly assistance of the Indians. During 1635 larger parties, with women and children, came; and from this time the colony of Connecticut must be considered as firmly established. The Indians received them joyfully, and their sachems, Sehat of Poquonnuc, Arramament of Podunk, and the more famous Sowheag and Sequassen, sold them land without stint or hesitation. Sequassen sold them Hartford and the whole region westward, including the territories of the Tunxis, as far as the country of the Mohawks.* Nassecowen, of Windsor, a sagamore, or at least a landholder, was "so taken in love with the coming of the English," that, "for some small matter," he gave them all his possessions on the eastern side of the river.†

The first Indian deeds of sale at Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield, were never preserved, or, at least, have never come to my knowledge. There is, however, in the Colonial Records, a brief notice that the settlers of Wethersfield made a satisfactory purchase of their territory from Sowheag, the sachem. The tract thus obtained measured six miles in width, north and south, and nine miles in length, of which six miles were on the west side of the river.‡ In the records of Windsor we have also one deed remaining, of the date of April 25th, 1636, which conveys to the English a tract on the east side of the Connecticut, lying between the Podunk and Scantic

* Farmington Records. † Windsor Records. ‡ Col. Rec., Vol. I, p. 5.

Rivers, and extending a day's march into the country. The price given for this territory was twenty cloth coats and fifteen fathoms of sewan or wampum; part to be paid at the time, and part when the next English pinnace came up the river. The deed was signed by Arramament, sachem at Podunk; Sheat, sachem of Poquonnuc; Cogrenosset of Poquonnuc, and eight others, who claimed an interest in the lands.*

It is worthy of observation, that three of the signers, Poxen, Wonochocke and Towtonemon, styled themselves Mohegans; or, as it is once or twice expressed, Mohegoneak. This circumstance leads us to advert to the history of this portion of the Pequot nation. We have already mentioned the relationship of Uncas, sagamore of Mohegan, to the royal family, and have briefly noticed that he was now in rebellion against Sassacus, the grand sachem of the tribe. It seems probable that, on the death of Wopigwooit or Pekoath, Uncas laid claim to the sachemship, grounding his title on his own descent, and perhaps strengthening it by the regal birth of his squaw. At all events, some difficulty occurred, and Uncas was soon engaged in open war with his chieftain. The great body of the nation remained faithful to Sassacus, and the rebellious sagamore was defeated and expelled from the country. He fled to the Narragansetts; but after remaining among them a while, he sent a humble message to Sassacus begging permission to return. This was granted, on condition of submission and future good behavior. Uncas promised every thing, and again came back to Mohegan. He was soon guilty of treachery, or was accused

* Windsor Records.

of it, and had once more to fly. Again, on submission, he was pardoned and allowed to return; and again, for the same cause as before, banished. Some of his warriors who fled with him remained in the Narragansett country, and were living there many years afterwards. In this manner he lost the greater part of his followers, and all his lands; which last, by the Indian customs, in all cases of war, became the property of the conqueror. His territory was so small, and his men so few, that he was unable to make a grand hunt alone, but hunted in company with two other sagamores, sons of the sister of Sassacus, and, of course, the cousins of his own wife. Judging from this fact, it seems probable that he could not have had remaining more than twenty-five or thirty men. His two friends above mentioned finally quarreled with their powerful relation, Sassacus; and in consequence were forced to fly to the Narragansett country, from whence they never returned. Their lands, like those of Uncas, became subject to the grand sachem of the tribe.*

Some of the Mohegans, therefore, and, according to one author, fifty of them, took up their residence on the Connecticut River, chiefly in the township of Hartford.† Thus it was that we find Poxen here, whom, under the name of Foxon, we shall subsequently meet as the cunning counsellor and ambassador of Uncas after he has risen to greatness and power. It is possible, also, that some of these men were not native Mohegans, but river Indians, who had attached themselves to an adventurous and warlike chief like Uncas, and had thus acquired a

* See papers on Towns and Lands, Vol. I, Doc. 67.

† Vincent, Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, p. 35.

title to the name of Mohegoneak.* Uncas, himself, probably lived in this part of the country, as it is not at all likely that he would be allowed to continue at Mohegan. Mohegan was the ancient burying place of the Pequot sachems; and would Sassacus, the descendant and representative of that race of heroes, allow their graves to be polluted by the foot of one who had made himself an alien to his tribe?

In person, Uncas is said to have been a man of large frame and great physical strength. His courage could never be doubted, for he displayed it too often and too clearly in war, and especially in the subsequent contest against his native tribe. No sachem, however, was ever more fond of overcoming his enemies by stratagem and trickery. He seemed to set little value upon the glory of vanquishing in war, compared with the advantages it brought him in the shape of booty, and new subjects, and wider hunting grounds. He favored his own men and was therefore popular with them; but all others who fell under his power he tormented with continual exactions and annoyances. His nature was selfish, jealous and tyrannical; his ambition was grasping, and unrelieved by a single trait of magnanimity. He was now, it is probable, in the prime and vigor of early manhood.

The treaty between the colonial government and the Pequots seems to have been imperfectly observed on both sides. Sassacus paid none of the wampum and other articles which he had promised, nor is there any proof that, for two years after the treaty, the colonists ever sent a vessel to the Pequot country to trade. The only ar-

* Sometimes spelt Muhhekunneuk.

ticle which the English fulfilled was that of planting colonies in Connecticut; and the only article which the Pequots fulfilled was that of allowing them to do so without opposition. Thus matters went on, till an event took place which roused the colonists to think of the obligations of their allies if not of their own. John Oldham, of Dorchester, a man of energetic but turbulent disposition, was the commander of a pinnace which made trading voyages along the coast for corn and other Indian commodities. In the spring of 1636 he sailed, with a crew of two boys and two Narragansett Indians, to barter with the Pequots. This was done, as we are informed by Winthrop, in consequence of the treaty with them; but, as the treaty was made in 1634, the Pequots might justly have complained of the tardiness of the English in fulfilling its conditions. Oldham finished his dealings with them, however, in safety: but having, on his return, stopped at Manisses or Block Island, he was there murdered by the islanders. The crime was discovered and punished by another trader, John Gallop, who was voyaging from the Connecticut to the eastern part of Long Island. Passing near Manisses on his way, he saw Oldham's pinnace with sixteen Indians on board, and a canoe, manned by other Indians and loaded with goods, putting off for the shore. Gallop recognized the pinnace, and, running close to, gave a hail in English, but received no answer. He now began to suspect what had occurred; and his suspicions were strengthened by observing that the Indians were armed with guns and other English weapons. Presently a sail was raised on board the pinnace; and the wind and tide being both off the island, it

began to drive northward towards the Narragansett shore. Gallop hesitated no longer, but bore up ahead of the little craft, and commenced firing duck shot among the Indians with such effect that they all took refuge under the hatches. He then stood off some distance, and, turning round, run down upon the pinnace's quarter with such violence as almost to overset her. Six Indians, terrified by the shock, leaped overboard, and were drowned in swimming for the shore. Gallop gave the pinnace another blow with his heavier vessel, but as no more Indians would make their appearance, he commenced firing with his muskets through her thin sides. Startled by this, six others of the plunderers jumped overboard and sank; and the victors, who only consisted of three men and two boys, then boarded their prize. Two Indians came on deck, surrendered and were bound; but as Gallop feared they would untie each other, and could not easily keep them asunder, he coolly threw one of them into the sea. Two others, armed with swords, still remained under the hatches, posted so advantageously that they could neither be killed nor made prisoners. The body of John Oldham was found under an old sail, his head split open, his arms and legs gashed as if the Indians had been trying to cut them off, and the flesh still warm. Gallop and his crew put these melancholy remains into the sea, carried the sails and the remainder of the cargo on board their own vessel, and then attempted to tow the pinnace away, with the two Indians still in the hold. But some wind and a good deal of sea coming on towards night, he was obliged to loose her, and she drifted over to the Narragansett shore.*

* Winthrop, Vol. I, pp. 189, 190.

Not long after, three Narragansetts, sent by the sachems of the tribe, came into Boston, two of whom were those who had been with Oldham. They brought a letter from Roger Williams, a Baptist clergyman residing in their country, written on behalf of Canonicus the grand sachem. It expressed his great grief for what had occurred, and affirmed that Miantinomo, his nephew, had gone, with seventeen canoes and two hundred men, to punish the murderers. The magistrates examined the third Indian so sharply that he made some confessions, which may have been true, and may have been extorted from him by terror. He said that a plot had been formed to murder Oldham because he traded with the Pequots; that all the Narragansett sachems were engaged in it except Canonicus and Miantinomo; and that his two companions were accomplices in the crime. The authorities finally sent the three men safely back to Canonicus; but made known to him the suspicions which they entertained both of them and himself. They demanded that he should surrender Oldham's two boys, and should inflict a suitable punishment upon the guilty islanders. The boys were soon sent to Boston; and Canonicus and Miantinomo afterwards succeeded in convincing the colonial magistrates that they were guiltless of any participation in the murder.*

The government of Massachusetts now turned its attention to the Pequots. They were said to have harbored some of the murderers of Oldham, and, it was pretended, had thereby made themselves partakers in their guilt. A harsh and hasty measure, suggested by feelings

* Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 190.

of suspicion and exasperation, was adopted. It was resolved that an expedition should be fitted out to punish the Block Islanders, which should afterwards proceed to the country of the Pequots, and demand, or if necessary, extort, from them satisfaction. No thought of the impolicy of sending an armed force to threaten a high-spirited and powerful nation of savages seems to have entered the minds of Governor Vane and his council. No idea seems to have occurred to them that it would be proper first to require the Pequots, in a peaceable manner, to do whatever they were bound as friends and allies to do. To this insult was added another insult and an injury. By the treaty of 1634 the Pequots had agreed to pay the colony four hundred fathoms of wampum: they could not be accused of having, since that time, committed any outrage upon Englishmen or English property: yet it was now resolved to demand of them six hundred additional fathoms of wampum and some of their children as hostages for its delivery.*

Several small vessels were collected, ninety men were raised, and the whole force was placed under the command of John Endicott, a resident of Massachusetts. He was instructed to go first to Block Island, take possession of it in the name of the colony, spare the women and children, but put all the men to the sword. More than a dozen of the island warriors had been slain by Gallop and his little crew; but nothing short of their extermination, it seems, could sufficiently avenge the murder of a single white man. From Block Island Endicott was to proceed to the country of the Pequots, obtain the murderers of

* Winthrop, Vol. I, pp. 192, 193.

Stone and one thousand fathoms of wampum, demand some of their children as hostages, for the performance of these conditions, and if the children were refused to take them by force.*.

It was nearly dusk when the little fleet of Endicott reached the shore of Block Island. A strong wind was blowing, and the surf was dashing heavily on the rocks. The English could see only a single Indian, walking along the shore as if deserted; and some of them began to think that the rest of the inhabitants had fled to the main land. Others suspected, with more wisdom, that they should find them concealed behind a low mound which ran along the edge of the water. John Underhill, a brave soldier though a bad man, moved towards the shore in a shallop containing about a dozen soldiers. As he neared the landing place, fifty or sixty tall warriors rose from behind the earthen rampart, and, advancing a few steps towards the invaders, let fly among them a volley of arrows. One of these missiles penetrated into the neck of a young man, through a collar so stiff that Underhill likens it to an oaken board. The captain himself received one through his coat sleeve, while another rebounded from the helmet which, at parting, his wife had, with difficulty, persuaded him to wear. The heavy surf tossed the boat about in such a manner that the English did not dare to run it on the beach, nor, while in it, could they take any aim with their muskets. They sprang into the water, therefore, up to their waists, fired and hurried on to the shore. Endicott was landing at the same time, and the Indians, not daring to wait a close

* Winthrop, Vol. I, pp. 192, 193.

conflict with so many Englishmen, took to their heels, and were soon out of sight in the thicket.*

As it was now late, the invaders encamped on shore, stationed sentinels, and passed the night in expectation of an attack. They were unmolested, however, and, when morning dawned, commenced ranging over the island in search of the inhabitants. It seemed to them about ten miles long by four broad; its surface rough and composed of small hills; containing no good timber but great quantities of dwarf oaks. Paths led here and there through the brushwood, so narrow that the English were obliged to march along them in single file. They found two villages, containing together about sixty wigwams, some of which were large and comfortably built, but all deserted except by a few dogs. The English burnt down the wigwams, staved the canoes, carried away some mats and baskets, shot some of the dogs, and laid waste about two hundred acres of corn. They spent two days in searching this small island; but its inhabitants had concealed themselves so closely in the swamps and thickets that very few of them could be found. A captain named Turner, stepping into a swamp, met several warriors and fired a number of shots at them. In reply they discharged their arrows, one of which struck upon his corselet with a force as if it had been the push of a pike. Underhill says that some fourteen of the islanders were killed and others wounded; but the Narragansetts reported, as we learn from Hubbard, that the English only succeeded in killing one.†

* Underhill. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 5, 6.

† Underhill's Pequot War. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 6, 7. Winthrop's Journal, Vol. I, pp. 192—194.

Having accomplished what they could at Block Island, Endicott and his men re-embarked and sailed to the little fort of the Connecticut settlers at Saybrook. Lieutenant Gardiner, who commanded the garrison, was greatly astonished at the appearance of such an armament; and on learning its object, argued vehemently against the enterprise and the manner in which it was to be conducted. "You have come to raise a nest of wasps about our ears," said he, "and then you will flee away." "But," he adds, in his history of the Pequot war, "as they came without our knowledge, so they went away against our will."*

Finding, at last, that the expedition could not be prevented from proceeding, Gardiner determined to reinforce it with two shallops and twenty men. The fleet was detained four days at Saybrook by stress of weather, and then continued its voyage. As it glided along near the coast of the Western Nehantics, the natives, surprised at seeing so many vessels together, and totally unsuspicious, apparently, of the object of their visit, came running in numbers to the shore. "What cheer Englishmen?" they shouted. "What do you come for?" As the voyagers were unwilling to waste time, and still more to put the Indians on their guard, they made no answer to these questions, and kept steadily on their course. The natives continued to run along the shore abreast of the fleet until they came to the mouth of the Thames; and, seeing that the strangers persevered in refusing to communicate with them, they changed their questions and began to cry: "Are you angry, Englishmen? Will you kill us? Do you come to fight?" No answer was returned; the vessels

* Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXIII, p. 140.

silently entered the river, cast anchor at a distance from either shore and remained in quiet until morning.*

During the whole night loud cries and doleful shouts reverberated from the forests which lined either bank: for the Pequots, apprehending that the white men had come to invade them, were continually calling to each other and sounding the alarm.

Early in the morning an Indian was seen making his way out to the vessels in a canoe. On reaching them he appeared to be a man advanced in years, of a tall and large form, and dignified in his appearance and carriage. When he came to speak, his expressions were grave and majestic; and he soon showed himself to be of a keen and ingenious mind. He demanded the object of the strangers in coming to the country of the Pequots. Captain Endicott replied that the Pequots or their allies had destroyed an English vessel, and killed ten Englishmen, on the Connecticut River; that their sachem had agreed to surrender the murderers, but had never yet fulfilled his agreement; that the English had now come for them, and, if the Pequots were wise, they would immediately give them up; that they must also pay one thousand fathoms of wampum for their destruction of English property and their faithlessness in observing the treaty; and that, if they could not pay so large a sum down, they must surrender twenty children of their principal men as hostages.†

The ambassador must have listened with astonishment and indignation to these last demands; but he replied

* Underhill. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, p. 7.
† Winthrop, Vol. I, pp. 192, 193.

with courtesy, and ingeniously endeavored to justify the conduct of his tribe. "We know not," said he, "that our people have slain any of the English. True it is that we have killed such a number of men, and in such a place, as you mention; and this was our reason for doing it. Not long before the coming of these men into the river, there was a certain vessel came to us in way of trade. We used the people of it well, and traded with them, and believed them to be such as would not wrong us in the least matter. But wishing to destroy our sachem, they laid a plot for that purpose; and thus did they accomplish their desire. They suffered none but him to come into their vessel, and then having seized him, they called to us as we stood on the shore and demanded a bushel of wampum for his life. This rung terribly in our ears, when we so little expected it; but, seeing there was no remedy, we collected this great quantity of wampum and put it into their hands. Then did they in truth send our sachem ashore, as they had promised; but not until they had slain him. This thing greatly exasperated our spirits and made us vow revenge. Shortly after came the other white men into the great river, and pretended to trade as the first had done. We did not undeceive them, but seized the opportunity and went quietly on board their vessel. The son of our murdered sachem staid in the cabin with Captain Stone, until the captain, having drank more strong water than was good for him, fell asleep. Our sachem then took a little hatchet from under his robe and knocked him in the head. The rest of our people attacked the other white men; but when one of them took up a firebrand to set fire to the powder they

leaped overboard into the river. In this manner they saved themselves, while the strangers were all blown up and destroyed. Could ye blame us for revenging the murder of our sachem? For we distinguished not between the Dutch and English, but supposed them to be all one people; and therefore we do not conceive that we have done you any wrong, having only endeavored to revenge the death of our sachem."*

Such was the tale which this Pequot told in justification of the murder of Captain Stone and his companions. It referred unquestionably to the massacre of their grand chief, Wopigwooit; and such, perhaps, was in reality the manner in which the Dutch effected his death. The account differed greatly, it will be seen, from the story told by the Pequot messengers to Governor Dudley; yet of the two I am inclined to think that it was the most correct: more especially as it agreed, in several important particulars, with the version common among the colonists.

But, true or not, Endicott refused to admit it as a justification. "You know well enough," said he, "the difference between the English and the Dutch; for you have had sufficient dealings with both; and therefore, seeing you have slain the king of England's subjects, we demand an account of their blood, for we ourselves are liable to account for them."

"We do *not* know the difference between the Dutch and English," persisted the Pequot; "they are both strangers to us, and we took them to be all one; wherefore we boldly ask pardon, for we have not willfully wronged the English."

* Underhill. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 8, 9.

The whites responded: "This excuse will not serve. We know well that it is not true. You must give us the heads of those who have slain our people, or we will fight with you."

The ambassador now said, that, as he understood the ground of the Englishmen's coming, he begged leave to go ashore and communicate with his people; and, if they would stay aboard their vessels, he would soon return to them with an answer. This promise was, perhaps, dictated by a fear that they would keep him prisoner; but Endicott had no wish to detain him, and he was suffered to get into his canoe and depart.*

It would now undoubtedly have been proper for the colonists to have remained on board their vessels until the Indians could have had time to answer their message. They were too impatient for this, however, and disembarking immediately, formed in martial order upon the shore. This was doubtless on the eastern side of the Thames, where the land rises gradually from the river into a considerable eminence. The same old warrior who came out to the vessels met the white men at their landing, and requested them to stay where they were, while the Pequots, he said, would remain on the other side of the hill. The English, fearful of being attacked by stealth, refused, and marched on to the summit of the rising ground, from whence they could command a wide view of the surrounding country. Here the Indians collected round them in great numbers, amounting, some thought, to three hundred men; all, or nearly all, however, unarmed.† Some of them recognized the soldiers

* Underhill. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, p. 9.
† Gardiner. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXIII, p. 141.

from Saybrook as acquaintances, and coming up to them, as they stood in the ranks, carried on a conversation with them in broken English and Pequot.* The messenger finally returned and said that the two greatest sachems of the tribe were both gone to Long Island. The English threatened that, if some sachem did not make his appearance, they would commence hostilities. The Pequots were perplexed. Sassacus was their lawful chieftain, and they could conclude no national business without his concurrence. He was now absent at such a distance that it was useless to think of sending for him, yet the white men would admit of no delay. They commenced removing their wives and children and goods to places of safety; and, in the meanwhile, amused the invaders with various messages. At one time a sachem named Mommenoteck had been found and would shortly appear. At another the main body of the tribe had assembled and was inquiring out the murderers. Thus hour after hour passed away until it grew late in the afternoon. Endicott was sensible of the attempted deceit, and at last losing patience, he determined to put an end to the parley, and obtain revenge since he could not hope for satisfaction. "Begone," said he to the Pequots who stood around, "begone! You have dared the English to come and fight with you, and now we are ready."†

The Indians retreated on all sides: some of the soldiers would have fired at them immediately, but Endicott forbade it: when they were at a distance, however, he

* Gardiner. Mass. Hist. Coll, Vol. XXXIII, p. 141.

† Underhill. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, p. 10. Winthrop, Vol. I, pp. 194, 195.

marched after them, expecting that they would stand a charge, as it was said they had done with the Dutch. But they only discharged a few arrows from afar off, laughing scornfully the while at the invaders, as if ridiculing them for having been so easily deceived. A few dropped under the English fire, but only one was certainly known to have been killed. This one was shot and scalped by Kutshamequin, a sachem whom Endicott had brought from Massachusetts.* The English spent several hours on shore, burning the wigwams, wasting the corn, staving the canoes, and then retreated unhurt to their vessels. In the morning they landed on the western shore and ravaged the country in the same manner, no one attempting to prevent them. Having thus done enough to insult and exasperate the Pequots, but not enough to humble or seriously injure them, Endicott returned, without the loss of a single man, to Boston.†

The two shallops from Saybrook being detained off the coast by a westerly wind, their crews concluded to turn the delay to some account by plundering the Indians of their corn. Having effected a landing, they had already fetched one load to the little vessels, when some Pequots made their appearance and commenced an attack upon them. The foragers immediately threw down their heavy sacks and formed in two lines; those armed with long guns standing in front, and the others drawing up in the rear. The front rank commenced a slow, deliberate fire upon the enemy, while the rear rank stood prepared to

* Gardiner. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXIII, p. 141.

† For accounts of this expedition, see Gardiner and Underhill in the Hist. Coll. and Winthrop, Vol. I, pp. 194—197.

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receive them with a close volley if they should attempt to charge. A tedious and desultory combat ensued; similar, no doubt, in its nature, to the battles which were usually fought among the Indians. The shore at this place consisted, for about a musket shot, of open ground, and then came the forest. In the skirts of this the Indians took post, concealing themselves behind trees, and only appearing when they stepped out, (with some appearance of bravado,) ten at a time, to discharge their arrows. These missiles were not aimed point blank, but rose a little in their flight, and were calculated to fall at the right distance. As they came through the air the English would watch and avoid them, and then gather them up to prevent them from being shot a second time. In this manner the combat continued till towards night, when the invaders, finding it impossible to carry off any more plunder, retreated without molestation to their shallops. They supposed that they had killed and wounded several of their opponents, while only one of their own number was injured by the Indian missiles. This man, who, as it happened, was the only one in the party furnished with defensive armor, was shot through the leg with an arrow.*

As might have been expected, this expedition of Endicott decided the conduct of the Pequots towards the English. Whether in reality friendly or hostile hitherto, they no longer hesitated; but from this time became the open and unrelenting foes of the colonists. They were incited to war by a thirst for vengeance, by the bitterness of mortified pride, and perhaps by a sagacious foresight

* Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 197.

and manly policy. The ancient customs of their race, in which they had been reared from childhood, demanded that they should take a bloody revenge for the deaths of their slain warriors. The glory of their warlike tribe had been sullied by the successes of an enemy, who had penetrated into the heart of their country, and, after burning and destroying at leisure, had retired with impunity. Doubtless they remembered how the English had interfered with their sovereignty on the Connecticut, and had encouraged the former subjects and tributaries of the Pequots to assert their independence. Lastly they may have had the wisdom to foresee, that if the progress of these encroaching foreigners was not forcibly checked, they would soon become an over-match for the aborigines, and might, in the end, expel them from the country. They began by resolving on the same course of policy which the master spirits among the American Indians have repeatedly adopted towards their civilized foes. Pontiac, Tecumseh and the Little Turtle, effected plans of confederation for the purpose of checking the advances of the whites. In the same manner the Pequots resolved fully to lay aside their long-cherished hatred towards the Narragansetts, and combine with them, if possible, against those whom they felt to be the enemies of both. This alliance would secure them the assistance of a powerful ally, and would relieve them from the fear of being attacked by a dangerous foe.

Sassacus, therefore, sent two sachems to the Narragansetts, for the purpose of washing away all past enmity, and of inducing that tribe to take up the tomahawk with him against the English. A general council of the Nar-

ragansett tribe was called, and before this the Pequot deputies urged the cause and the policy of their nation with great force. They seem not to have concealed the difficulties of a war with the English; but they proposed a way in which they might be obviated, and in which they thought the contest might be carried on successfully with but little danger. They argued that it would not be necessary to meet the white men in the open field and thus expose themselves to their deadly and far-reaching fire-arms. They might accomplish their object, by way-laying them while at their work, setting fire to their houses by stealth, destroying their cattle, spoiling their crops; and thus harassing them secretly, yet unceasingly, until they would either be all destroyed, or forced by fear and starvation to leave their villages and fly across the sea to their own country. If we, the Pequots, are destroyed, they added, you Narragansetts will not long be safe from attack and overthrow.* Doubtless, too, they represented, in the strongest and bitterest terms, the faithless and unprovoked nature of the attack which the English had made upon themselves: how, while the treaty was still in full force, they came to their country and began to kill and destroy; how, to bring on a quarrel, they accused them of what it was well known they had not been guilty, participation in the murder of Oldham; how they had attempted to extort from them a large quantity of wampum, and had demanded some of their children that they might carry them away as hostages, or perhaps as slaves.

The Narragansetts were moved by these representations, and for some time the decision of that powerful tribe

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 29.

hung in the balance. They were drawn by the apparent justness of what was advanced by the Pequot messengers; and they were repelled by their old hatred of that warlike tribe, whose power they feared not less than that of the English colonists.

One thing decided them. There was living among them, at that time, a man named Roger Williams, who has justly been styled the founder of the State of Rhode Island. In an age of intolerance he had been obliged to leave the settlements of Massachusetts Bay, on account of his religious opinions, and had found an asylum in the country of the Narragansetts. His upright conduct and gentle disposition ingratiated him with the sachems, and he soon acquired a considerable influence over the policy of the tribe. The magistrates of Massachusetts, having heard of the projected league between the Pequots and Narragansetts, sent letters to Williams requesting him to use the most earnest and immediate efforts to prevent it. Without a moment's delay, he set off, in a wretched canoe, through a heavy sea, and at the hazard of his life, reached the abode of the Narragansett sachems. Three days and nights he was compelled to associate with the Pequot ambassadors, whose hands seemed to him to reek with the blood of his murdered countrymen, and whose knives he often expected at his own throat. His influence prevailed; and, after "many travels and charges," he was able to counteract the designs of the Pequots, and to accomplish the formation of a league between the Narragansetts and the English colonies.*

Miantinomo having been sent for by Governor Henry

* Letter of Roger Williams. Rhode Island Hist. Coll., Vol. III, p. 160

Vane, repaired to Boston, accompanied by a son of Canonicus, and one other sachem, with about twenty warriors. Twenty musketeers met them at Roxbury and escorted them into town; the governor received and feasted the sachems, and the sannops were entertained at the inn. Magistrates and ministers were all summoned, and the strait-skirted puritans and half-naked warriors met together in solemn council. A treaty was easily concluded, the more easily as the Indians did not understand it; and the next morning it received the signature of the governor and the marks of the Indian sachems.

There was to be firm and perpetual peace between the English and the Narragansetts. Neither party was to make peace with the Pequots without the consent of the other. The Narragansetts were to harbor none of the Pequots, were to restore all fugitive servants, and were to surrender all murderers of the English. The colonists were to give the Narragansetts notice when they marched against the enemy, and the Narragansetts were to furnish them with guides. None of the Narragansetts were to approach the settlements during the war, without being accompanied by some Englishman, or by some Indian who was known to the colonists. There was to be free trade between the parties. Lastly, the agreement was to continue from the present generation to posterity.

As it was evident that the sachems did not understand the treaty, a copy of it was given them, that they might carry it home and have it explained to them by their good friend, Roger Williams. Such was the ease and simplicity with which diplomatic affairs were transacted in those primitive days with the good-humored savages.

Miantinomo and his train were dismissed with a volley of musketry, and returned home much flattered by their alliance with the wise and powerful foreigners.*

In this manner the Pequots found themselves not only left to their own resources, but exposed to the attack of a strong coalition. They made no proposals for peace, however, and, owing partly to their native courage, partly to their ignorance, they were probably undismayed by their situation. They doubtless expected that a few dozens of warriors would be slain, that a few scores of scalps would be taken, that six or eight prisoners would be burnt at the stake, and that then the war would be closed by one side or the other paying a few hundred fathoms of wampum. Little did they know of that method of fighting, which strikes right at the vitals of an enemy, and hazards much with the hope of gaining all.

The nearest English to their country were those who occupied the little fort at Saybrook. Towards these the Pequots turned their attention, and soon contrived to retaliate for the mischiefs which had been inflicted on themselves. Gardiner, the commander of the fort, foreseeing what would ensue, had, immediately on the return of his men from Pequot Harbor, set about securing the crops which had been raised by the garrison. There was a cornfield at some distance from the fortress, apparently near the banks of the river, and furnished with a small building both for storage and defense. As it was now autumn and the corn ripe, Gardiner went with a number of the garrison, cut a portion of the corn, and stored it in the house. He then left five men to guard it until a

* Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 198.

shallop could be sent from the fort to bring it away; and, as he was a prudent and even cautious man, he gave them strict orders not to wander far from the building. The five men, however, finding themselves armed with long guns, and not having seen or heard of any enemy as yet, in that vicinity, determined to take the opportunity of shooting fowl. Three of them went out for this purpose, one furnished with a sword and gun, the others with guns only. They rambled about a mile from the fort, made the quiet woods ring with the reports of their long pieces, had excellent success, and finally set out, loaded with fowl, on their return. But all this while a large body of Pequots had been watching them from the thickets and long grass, keeping out of their way as they pushed on, but carefully closing up behind their backs. The incautious sportsmen soon fell into this ambuscade, when immediately a horrible yell was raised, and what seemed to them as many as a hundred warriors rose and poured in upon them a shower of arrows. The swordsman was pierced through the leg by one of these missiles; but, drawing his weapon, he rushed with a stout and brave heart upon the savages, and broke through them, shouting loudly to his companions to follow. But they had no weapons for close conflict; they were besides petrified with terror at the sudden and frightful assault; they stood motionless, and allowed the Pequots to come and take their pieces out of their hands. They were bound, led away, and afterwards tortured to the death. The gallant swordsman reached the house without further harm, and brought to his astonished companions the news of the catastrophe. The next day several men arrived in

a shallop, to finish the harvesting of the corn. Finding what had happened, they were so terrified that, taking on board what was already cut, and those of the little garrison who were left, they hastily re-embarked for the fort. They had only got a little way from the shore, when, looking back, they saw a smoke, and then a blaze, and perceived that the store-house was already in flames.*

Immediately on their return, a man, who is repeatedly mentioned by Gardiner in his narrative as old Mr. Mitchell, came to him to borrow the shallop. He wanted to go to Six Mile Island in the Connecticut, he said, to gather hay; and he had procured four men to assist him. The lieutenant objected. "You are too few," said he; "your four men are only enough to carry the hay; you ought to have one to stand in the boat to defend it, and two more to keep back the savages if they run down upon you." Old Mr. Mitchell was still importunate, and Gardiner, having advised him to scour the meadow with dogs before he commenced his work, allowed him to take the shallop. All precautions were neglected, and the men, on reaching the island, immediately proceeded to load themselves with hay. While thus encumbered, the Pequots suddenly rose out of the long grass, and attacked them with the usual yells and shower of missiles. Old Mr. Mitchell and three of the others threw down their loads, ran at full speed to the river, tumbled into the shallop, and got off without harm. The fifth, whom Winthrop speaks of as "a godly young man named Butterfield," was taken with the hay on his back and subsequently roasted alive.†

* Gardiner. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXIII, p. 142.

† Gardiner. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 142, 143. Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 198.

The next incident of this nature which occurred seems to have been the surprise and massacre of Joseph Tilly and one other. Tilly, a brave and hardy man, but of a passionate and willful temper, commanded a small vessel with which he performed trading and carrying voyages along the coast of New England. He arrived first at Saybrook, where he had a violent altercation with Gardiner about some orders which the lieutenant had established relative to vessels sailing on the Connecticut. At leaving the fort he was warned of the danger of going on shore while in this part of the river, but received the warning with contempt. On getting about three miles above Saybrook, he landed, with one of his crew, to shoot fowl. The moment he had discharged his gun a large number of Pequots rose from the long grass, and made them both prisoners. They killed Tilly's companion on the spot, and then carried Tilly himself across the river, in sight of the English at Saybrook, who could plainly see him, but could not assist him. They cut off his hands, then his feet, thrust hot embers between the flesh and skin, and thus put an end to his life by lingering tortures. His firm and hardened temper enabled him to bear his sufferings without a groan; and the ferocious Pequots themselves admired and celebrated his heroism.*

All winter the fort was held in a kind of siege. The Indians were continually lurking around it; and no man of the garrison could stir out without fear, and danger of his life. The out-houses and stacks of hay were burned;

* Gardiner. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXIII, p. 147. Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 200. Underhill. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, p. 15.

one of the cows was killed in the fields, and others came home with arrows sticking in them.

On the fourth of March [1637] Gardiner, with ten men and three dogs, went out to burn the long grass and rushes which covered the neck of that point of land on which the fort was situated. Twenty trees had previously been felled here; and his object was to roll them to the water-side, and from thence float them home. Two sentinels were placed at the mouth of the neck; and then, every man being provided with brimstone matches and a quantity of match, they began to set fire to the reeds. The neck was soon burned over, and Gardiner called to his men to come away; but they replied that they would first use up the rest of their matches. As the flames spread on, four Pequots started up from their lurking places among the reeds and ran away. At the same time the two sentinels shouted to Gardiner, that a number of Indians were coming out of the other side of the marsh. He ran forward to attack them; but at this moment an ambuscade which had been lying concealed rose, and, in the usual style, poured in a volley of arrows. Two of the English threw down their guns and ran for the fort; two were shot dead, two more severely wounded; and Gardiner himself received an arrow in the thigh, while a number of others stuck in his buff coat. The English retreated, defending themselves with their guns and swords, and reached the fort without further loss. Here Gardiner found the two cowards who had run away, whole and sound, but without their guns, while the two wounded men had brought theirs off with them. His wrath was so moved at their poltroonery that he resolved to

let them draw lots which should be hung; "for," said he, "the articles do hang up in the hall for every one to read, and you have known what they were this long time past." But old Mr. Mitchell, who probably had more sympathy for runaways, as having himself once scampered for life, interceded so hard for the culprits, and was so earnestly backed by others, that the lieutenant finally gave up his design.*

As soon as Gardiner's wound was healed he went out, with eight men, and found both the guns, and the body of one of the slain colonists. An arrow had entered the right side, passed entirely through the chest, and pierced one of the opposite ribs. He caused this arrow to be preserved, with the intention of sending it to the Bay; for the men of the Bay had asserted that the Indian bows were feeble things, and not to be feared in battle.†

Elated with these successes, the Pequots, some dressed in English clothes, some armed with English weapons, would occasionally come round the fort, and, calling to the soldiers, address them with jeers and defiance. "Come out and get your clothes again," they shouted. "Come out and fight if you dare. You dare not fight; you are all one like women. We have one amongst us, who, if he could kill one more of you, would be equal with God; and as the Englishman's God is, so would he be." Then would they shriek and groan in imitation of those miserable colonists whom they had tortured, and once more call on the English, if they were men, to come out and revenge their slaughtered friends. Underhill, who records

* Gardiner. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 143, 144.
† Gardiner. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXIII, p. 144.

these taunts, adds that the soldiers were greatly troubled at such blasphemous speeches, but could do nothing in the matter at present on account of the fewness of their own numbers.*

Some time in April [1637] a small vessel arrived at the fort, having on board Thomas Stanton, a man well acquainted with the Indian language, and long useful as an interpreter to the colonial authorities. While he remained there, waiting for a fair wind, a number of armed warriors were seen one day to come to a low hill within musket shot of the pickets, and lie down behind some large trees. Gardiner immediately had the two little cannons of the fort pointed towards the spot, and gave orders that they should be fired when he waved his hat. Three of the Indians soon came forward and asked for a parley; upon which Gardiner and Stanton walked out a few rods to meet them. Both parties advanced cautiously, each calling on the other to come nearer. The two Englishmen finally reached the stump of a large tree and halted. The Indians demanded who they were. Stanton replied that it was the Leftenant, and himself, Thomas Stanton. "It is false," said they; "we saw Leftenant, the other day, shot full of arrows." When Gardiner spoke, however, they recognized his voice; for one of them had lived three months at the fort, and only ran away when Endicott's expedition arrived. "Will you fight with Nehantics?" they asked. "The Nehantics are your friends, and we have come to trade with you." "We do not know the Indians one from another," replied Stanton, "and therefore will trade with none of them."

* Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, p. 11.

Indians. "Have you had fighting enough?"

Stanton. "We do not know that yet."

Indians. "Is it your custom to kill women and children?"

Stanton. "You shall see that hereafter."

The Indians now remained silent a short time, and then one of them again spoke, and said: "We are Pequots; and have killed Englishmen, and can kill them as musketoes; and we will go to Connecticut and kill men, and women, and children, and carry away the horses, cows and hogs." Stanton translated this to Gardiner, and begged him to shoot that rogue, saying that he had an Englishman's coat on, and had boasted of killing three of the white people. "No," replied Gardiner, "it is not the manner of a parley; but have patience, and I will fit them before they go." He then addressed the Indians through Stanton, and advised them mockingly not to go to Connecticut; "for," said he, "if you kill all the English there it will do you no good, only hurt. English women are lazy and can't do your work; the horses and cows will spoil your cornfields; the hogs will root up your clam-banks; and so you will be completely undone. But look here, at our fort; here are twenty pieces of trucking cloth, and hoes and hatchets, and all manner of trade; you had better kill us and get these things before you trouble yourselves to go up to Connecticut."*

The Pequots were furious at these taunts; and, putting an abrupt end to the parley, they bounded away. As soon as they had reached the trees where they first

* By Connecticut was then meant only the few English settlements on the Connecticut River.

appeared, Gardiner waved his hat, the two lilliputian cannons were fired, and, as the lieutenant says, produced a great hubbub among the savages.*

A disaster now fell upon the little village of Wethersfield, up the Connecticut River, which the inhabitants of that place seem to have provoked by their own violence and rapacity. About the beginning of their settlement, a large tract of land was sold them by Sequin or Sowheag, on condition that he might reside near them and under their protection. The bargain was agreed to, and Sowheag built his wigwam near the houses of the settlers; but, in a little while, the latter, for some reason now unknown, quarrelled with him and drove him out of the neighborhood. Finding himself thus unworthily treated, and not being strong enough to revenge his own wrongs, he turned to the Pequots, who were probably his ancient enemies, and engaged them to make an attack upon the ungrateful settlement.†

Some time in April, 1637, a horseman who was riding near Wethersfield, discovered a large body of Indian warriors cautiously approaching the place. Without a moment's delay, he turned his horse's head and galloped back to the village to give the alarm. Some women whom he met and informed of their danger, instead of flying, began to ask incredulously, what Pequots he talked about, and how the Pequots should come there; but the horseman, thinking his time too precious to be wasted in disputing the matter, left them and galloped on. The

* Gardiner. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXIII, p. 144—146.

† Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 260. The conduct of the Wethersfield people in this affair seems to have been generally condemned by their cotemporaries.

sudden approach of the savage warriors dispelled the women's doubts, and they attempted to escape; but three of them were taken. Two were girls, who allowed themselves to be carried away without resistance. The other struggled against her captors so stoutly, biting and kicking them, that one of the Indians became exasperated and dashed out her brains. The Pequots pushed on, surprised many of the people at work in the fields, killed two other women and six men, destroyed twenty cows, and inflicted considerable injury upon the other property of the settlers.*

The report of this successful foray reached Saybrook two days after it took place; on the second day following, the successful warriors were seen coming down the river. There were many canoes of them; they sang and shouted in token of triumph; and some of them held aloft shirts which they had taken from the unfortunate colonists of Wethersfield. In one of the canoes could be seen the two captive girls; the one sixteen years of age, the other younger; and both daughters of one man, named Abraham Swain. When the Indians were opposite the fort, a cannon shot was fired at them; they were near the eastern bank, more than a mile distant, but the ball fell among the fleet of canoes, and not far from the one which contained the two prisoners. The Pequots were startled by this shot; but, drawing their slight vessels over a narrow beach, they passed on their way without further peril.†

* Johnson's Wonder Working Providence. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXIV, p. 30. Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 218.

† Underhill. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 12, 13. Gardiner. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 146, 147.

John Mason, John Underhill, and Lieutenant Seely, all famous warriors of those times, were now in the garrison at Saybrook. They sometimes marched out, with twenty men, to scour the country, but could never discover a trace either of Pequot or Nehantic. They learned afterwards, that the Indians were constantly lurking near, but, seeing the white men well protected by corselets and well furnished with fire-arms, they did not dare to venture an attack.*

From the above narrative we can see the manner in which the Indians conducted their wars, and understand the plan by which the Pequots proposed to carry on, and finish, their contest with the colonists. While this trifling, thievish and assassin-like mode of warfare may justly excite our contempt, we must regard it as a bitter and cutting satire upon all those magnificent schemes of hostility in which even civilized and Christian nations take such a senseless pride. If the pure beings of a superior and sinless state can be affected by such an emotion towards what is so deserving of pity and abhorrence, how must they despise the conduct of those communities, who, calling themselves enlightened, moral and religious, do yet countenance and practice a system so characteristic of wild beasts and savages! Looking down upon this unfortunate world, they see panthers and wolves tearing out each other's entrails with claws and teeth; they see savage men knocking out each other's brains with stone tomahawks, and flaying each other's heads with sharp pieces of flint; and they behold the hired soldiers of christian republics and catholic majesties sending each

* Underhill. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, p. 12.

other out of the world with instruments of death, only differing from these in being more ingeniously wrought and calculated to produce a wider destruction. In view of these melancholy spectacles, well might they exclaim: Alas! that the sentiments of justice, forbearance and humanity have been so nearly eradicated from the human breast, that, after sixty centuries of effort, no community has yet been formed so civilized and enlightened as to elevate itself, in this respect, above the feelings and maxims of barbarians.

CHAPTER IV.

THE OVERTHROW OF THE PEQUOTS.

This war, desultory and feeble as it was compared with European wars, reduced the few and scattered settlers of Connecticut to great distress. They could neither hunt, nor fowl, nor fish, but in fear; nor could they go out safely to work in their fields without burdening themselves with instruments of defense. The dread of a cunning and ferocious enemy hung over them all the day, and disturbed their rest by night. No woman felt certain, when her husband left her in the morning, that she should not, before the sun went down, see his lifeless corpse brought home, hacked by the Indian tomahawks. No man could feel sure, on parting with his family to go out in the fields, that he should not return only to find his home desolate, and his wife and children either murdered or carried off by the Pequots. We who live in quiet and at rest, with no destroyer to come up against us, can but ill realize the gloom and sickening anxiety of such an evil time. The settlers were poor at the best, suffering under the lack of most of the comforts of civilization, and even under a deficiency of food. No help had been received from the colonies of the Bay: no help except the ill-starred expedition of Endicott, which, as Gardiner foretold, had only started the wasps out of their nests. Late in the winter, the members of the General

Court of Connecticut wrote letters concerning the situation of affairs to the government of Massachusetts. They expressed strong dissatisfaction with the management of Endicott's expedition; they mentioned the sufferings which the colonists of Connecticut had endured in consequence of it; they urged the people of the Bay, since they had provoked the war, to prosecute it with more energy; and they declared, in conclusion, that their fellow settlers were determined to send an armament which should attack the enemy in his own country.*

Immediately after this followed the disaster at Wethersfield, mentioned in the last chapter; and, amidst the pressure of these continued calamities, was summoned, at Hartford, on the eleventh of May, one of the most important meetings which ever took place of the legislative power of Connecticut. The General Court on this occasion consisted of two magistrates and three committee men from each of the three towns, Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield, which composed the colony. The prospect, they agreed, was dark. Nearly thirty of the English had been slain. The enemy were numerous, and seemed to be little depressed by the defection of their subjects, the river Indians, or the hostility of their late allies, the Narragansetts. What they wanted in arms and audacity they made up in subtilty and knowledge of the country. Past experience proved that a defensive war was of but little use; and there were few means indeed of carrying on an offensive one. There were twenty or thirty men at Saybrook; the three towns contained about two hundred and fifty more; and this was the whole

* Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 217.

strength of the colony. As no help, however, had been offered by Massachusetts, and as it was evident that some decided measure must be taken, the Court resolved that an offensive war should be commenced against the Pequots. It was ordered that for the first campaign, ninety men should be raised; forty-two by Hartford, thirty by Windsor, and eighteen by Wethersfield. The necessary supplies were voted; Mr. Stone, minister at Hartford, was appointed to go as chaplain; and John Mason, lately stationed at Saybrook, was fixed upon as commander-in-chief.*

John Mason was a brave soldier, who had been bred to arms in the Netherlands under Sir Thomas Fairfax; and had attracted the notice of that general by his abilities and courage. He was tall and large in form, of an energetic, and even stern, but not headlong disposition, and of a moral, if not a religious character. No better choice could have been made by the Court of a commander in this important crisis.†

We have already mentioned the rebellion of Uncas, the son of Oweneco, against Sassacus; and we shall now see of how much use he made himself to the English, and how deeply he revenged his past misfortunes upon his countrymen. Smarting with disappointed ambition, with mortified pride, and with a desire of vengeance, this traitor to the Pequot race now came to Hartford, at the head of a small band of followers, to assist the colonists. He was joined by a number of river Indians, probably from about Wind-

* Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 9. Mason. Massachusetts Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII, p. 132.

† Allen's Biog. Dic. of New England.

sor and Hartford, and thus found himself at the head of seventy warriors.

In the meantime, Massachusetts and Plymouth had been aroused, and the latter had voted forty, the former two hundred, men, to assist in prosecuting the war. As it was reported that the Pequots had sent their women and children, for safety, to Block Island, Captain Daniel Patrick and forty men were dispatched overland by Massachusetts, to join with the Narragansetts, and pass over in canoes to the island. Having conquered it, they were to return to the main land, and assist the Connecticut troops in the campaign against the main body of the Pequots.*

On the 20th of May, 1637, Mason, at the head of ninety Englishmen and seventy Indians, embarked at Hartford on board a pink, a pinnace and a shallop, and began to drop down the river. The water was low; the vessels repeatedly got aground; and, at their own request, the Indian allies were set on shore to proceed to Saybrook by land. On their way through the forests, they fell in with thirty or forty of the enemy, and killed seven of them, with no loss to themselves except one man wounded. The two parties arrived without farther adventure at Saybrook, where the English were delighted by hearing of the exploit of Uncas, which they looked upon as a sure pledge of his fidelity.† Lieutenant Gardiner, however, was still suspicious of him, and said to Mason: "How dare you trust the Mohegans, who have but a year come from the enemy?"

* Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 222.

† Mason. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XVIII, p. 133.

"We are forced to trust them," replied the captain; "for we want them to guide us."

Gardiner was still unsatisfied, and calling Uncas to him, he said: "You say you will help Captain Mason, but I will first see it: therefore send twenty men to Bass River, for there went, last night, six Indians there, in a canoe: fetch them, dead or alive, and you shall go with Mason; else you shall not."

Uncas did as he was required; his warriors found the enemy, killed four of them, and took another, named Kiswas, prisoner.* Kiswas had lived a long time at the fort, and could speak English tolerably well; but since the commencement of the war he had acted as a constant spy upon the garrison, and had been present at all the massacres of English which had occurred in the neighborhood. He seems to have been a bold and cunning savage; and now, in his extremity, he showed neither fear nor sorrow, but braved his captors to do their worst. The Mohegans demanded permission to torture him; and the English made no attempt to save a man who had assisted in the tortures of their own countrymen. The mode of execution was horrible. One of the captive's legs was tied to a post, a rope was fastened to the other, and twenty warriors pulled him asunder. Underhill put an end to the sufferings of the miserable wretch, by shooting him through the head with a pistol.†

A little before the army reached Saybrook, a Dutch vessel arrived in the river, and cast anchor under the cannon of the fort. The garrison, learning from the crew

* Gardiner. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXIII, p. 149.
† Vincent. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, p. 36.

that they were going to trade with the Pequots, forbade their departure, saying that they would supply the Indians with kettles and other articles of metal, which would immediately be turned into arrow heads. An altercation ensued, which the Dutch finally put an end to, by offering, if they might proceed to the Pequot country, to ransom the two English girls who were there as captives. This offer being accepted, they continued their voyage, and soon came to anchor in the river Thames, then called Pequot Harbor. They sent on shore, as usual, with an offer to trade; saying, however, that they wanted in return for their articles, not furs, not wampum, but the two English girls whom the Pequots had carried away from Wethersfield. Sassacus was there, and refused to let the captives go. The Dutch then went to work more unscrupulously; and having inveigled seven men, some of whom were sagamores, on board their vessel, they made them prisoners. One of them then called to the Pequots who stood on the shore, and said: "We have here seven of your people on board our vessel. If ye desire them again ye must give us the two English girls. Tell us quickly whether ye will do so; for, if not, we will hoist sail and turn all your men overboard into the main ocean." The Pequots laughed at this, as an idle threat, and stoutly refused to surrender the prisoners. The Dutch immediately weighed anchor and set sail; but by the time they had reached the mouth of the river, the Pequots were fully convinced that they were in earnest, and sent canoes to overtake them. The exchange was soon effected: the seven Indians were set once more on firm ground; and the two girls were overjoyed to find

themselves again among civilized men. The kind-hearted Dutchmen carried them immediately to Saybrook, where another Dutch vessel was found, which had been sent by the governor of New Netherland, with express directions to rescue them on any conditions, even at the risk of war with the Pequots. Here, too, they found Mason and his armament, who had now reached that place; and who had thus an opportunity of obtaining some late intelligence concerning the enemy. They informed him that the Pequots were possessed of sixteen guns, and had also a small quantity of powder and shot. They added that the Indians had questioned them as to whether they could make powder; and finding that they knew nothing about it, seemed to be considerably disappointed, and to set much less value than at first on their new acquisition. Still they had been kindly treated, owing chiefly to the interposition of the wife of Mononotto, the second highest sachem, who, as they thought, had saved them from being put to death. The Indians had tried to encourage them to be merry, and had carried them about from place to place, and shown them their fine wigwams and every thing which they themselves prized. From Saybrook these children were carried to New Amsterdam, to gratify the governor, who had wished to see them with his own eyes, and then were returned in safety to their home, forty-six miles up the Connecticut River.*

Mason had been directed in his commission to make his attack upon the enemy by landing at Pequot Harbor; and a letter to the same effect had reached him from the

* Underhill. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 17, 18, 19. Gardiner says that he paid the Dutch ten pounds for ransoming the girls.

magistrates since his arrival at Saybrook. His good military judgment made him very averse to this plan; and he urged his companions to agree with him in concluding to sail first to the country of their allies, the Narragansetts. "The Pequots," said he, "do keep a continual guard upon their river night and day. They are armed, as the maids tell us, with sixteen pieces, having also powder and shot. Their numbers be greatly superior to ours, which will make it difficult for us to land in their face. Also, if we effect a landing, they will easily fly away and hide in their swamps and thickets. Whereas, if we go first to Narragansett, we shall come upon them at their backs, and so may take them by a surprise where they least expect it."*

Most of the officers and men urgently opposed this proposition; not relishing the idea of a long march through the wilderness. They were anxious also to get back to their families, and thought the shortest way to do this was to go at once to Pequot Harbor and fight a decisive battle. In this diversity of opinion all agreed in desiring Mr. Stone to pray fervently for them, that they might be guided in the proper way. The pious and honest minded minister spent most of the night in prayer, and, in the morning, told Captain Mason that he felt convinced that they ought to go to Narragansett. There was no longer any hesitation. Mason's plan was universally accepted. Twenty men were sent back, up the river, to assist in defending the settlements; and their places were supplied by Captain John Underhill and nineteen others from the fort.†

* Mason. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XVIII, p. 134.
† Mason. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XVIII, p. 134.

It was Friday, the 29th of May, when they set sail; and, on Saturday, towards evening, they dropped anchor off the shores of the Narragansetts. It was too late to land, and, although time was precious, such was their scrupulous observance of the Sabbath, that they remained all the next day on board their vessels. On Monday the northwest wind blew from morning to night with such violence as effectually to prevent their disembarcation. It was the same on Tuesday, till towards sunset, when Mason landed and marched up to the residence of Canonicus. He had an immediate interview with the sachem, informed him of his design of attacking the Pequots in their strong holds, and told him that all he wanted of the Narragansetts was a free passage through their country. The reply appears to have been given by Miantinomo. "He was glad," he said, "of the coming of the English. Their purpose was a good one, and he approved of it. But the Pequots were great captains, very skillful in war; and the white men whom he saw before him were too few to think of attacking them with success." He gave the English permission to pass through his country; but neither himself nor his people seem yet to have offered to join them.*

The same evening an Indian runner entered the camp, bringing a letter from Captain Patrick, who had come as far on his march as Providence, the settlement of Roger Williams. He urged Mason to halt where he was until his arrival; but, although so large a reinforcement was considered desirable, it was determined in a council not to delay. The men had already been detained a fort-

* Mason. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XVIII, pp. 135, 136.

night from home, and were anxious to get back to their families and their spring labors. It was feared, too, that any farther detention would result in making their design known to the enemy, inasmuch as a number of squaws among the Narragansetts were known to keep up an intercourse with the Pequots. Finally they wished to dispel the doubts and sneers of these Indians, who still asserted, that although Englishmen talked much they would not fight, and that they would never dare to invade the country of Sassacus*

On the next morning the vessels were manned with thirteen whites and a few Indians, and ordered to sail for the mouth of the Pequot River. The land army, consisting of seventy-seven Englishmen, and about sixty warriors under Uncas, then took up its journey westward through the wilderness. They moved along a forest path, much traveled by the natives, but rough and difficult to white men; and, after marching, as it seemed to them, eighteen or twenty miles, they came to a place called Nehantic. Here stood a fort built as a protection against the Pequots; and here lived one of the Narragansett sachems, probably the same who was afterwards so well known to the whites under the names of Yanemo and Ninigret. On the march, Indian warriors flocked into the army, until, when it reached Nehantic, it was attended by as many as two hundred Narragansetts. The Nehantics were at first cool and suspicious, and would allow none of the English to enter their fort. Mason's indignation was excited by their haughtiness and inhospitality; and suspecting them of hostile feelings, he feared

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, pp. 36, 37.

they would send notice of his coming to the enemy. "Since none of us may come in," said he, "none of you shall go out;" and he fulfilled his threat by posting sentinels round the fort who kept them all penned up until morning.*

The number of Narragansetts who continued to join the army induced many of the Nehantics, in spite of the above difficulty, to do the same. According to the custom of the Indians, these boastful allies formed into a circle and performed a war dance; shouting and making furious gestures, vaunting their prodigious courage, and protesting how they alone would destroy the enemy. When the Englishmen re-commenced their march in the morning, they were accompanied, as they thought, by five hundred Indian warriors.† The day was extremely warm; the country was rough and difficult of passage; and several of the men fainted with heat and with want of food. After marching what appeared to be about twelve miles, the English came to the Paucatuc River, at a ford which, the Narragansetts said, was a favorite fishing place of the Pequots. Here the Indians pointed out where many persons had been lately dressing fish, from whence they all concluded that the enemy were holding a feast at their fortress.‡ The army halted on the banks of the river, and the tired soldiers refreshed themselves with a little rest and food. At this place the Narragansetts and Nehantics began to exhibit the fear in which they held the Pequots. The Paucatuc was the last

* Mason. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XVIII, p. 136. † Ibid.

‡ Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXIV, p. 47.

boundary between themselves and those terrible enemies; and in their eyes the act of crossing it was like crawling head first into the den of a bear. Forgetting their vainglorious boasts of the evening before, many of them turned back towards their homes, and the rest appeared to be in such fear that Mason called Uncas to him, and asked him what he thought the Indians would do. "The Narragansetts," replied this brave sachem, "will all leave you; but, as for myself, I will never leave you." "For which expression," says Mason, in his account of the war, "and for some other speeches of his, I shall never forget him: indeed he was a great friend, and did us great service."*

They pushed on three miles farther, and came to a patch of ground which had been lately planted with Indian corn. Supposing that he was now near the enemy, Mason ordered another halt and called a council. The Indians were interrogated, and stated that the Pequots had two forts, both almost impregnable; that one was close by, but that the principal one, where Sassacus lived, was still several hours distant. The design which had been entertained of attacking both at the same time was therefore reluctantly abandoned, and the army resumed its march in the direction of the nearest. The Indian allies had hitherto occupied the van, but now they dropped into the rear, and scores of them turned back towards the Paucatuc. About an hour after nightfall the English came to a little swamp between two hills, and being informed that the fort was near by, they halted for the night. The site of this encampment is still known, and

* Mason. Mass. Hist. Coll, Vol. XVIII, pp. 136, 137.

the locality is marked by two large rocks known as Porter's Rocks. They are situated about two miles north-east of the spot where stood the Pequot fort, and half a mile north of a village in Stonington, called Head of Mystic.*



Porter's Rocks, Groton.

The night was cool and clear. The moon shone gently over the rude landscape, and on the prostrate forms of the English and their savage allies, as they lay on the ground in the open air. The camp was very quiet, for the men supposed themselves near to the fort, and were fearful of being overheard by the enemy. The sentinels were far advanced, and could hear the shouts and songs of the Pequots in their village, breaking on the still air till midnight. This ill-fated tribe had seen the English vessels pass by without attempting to land, and had imagined that the white men avoided the Pequot country through fear. Sassacus had sent a reinforcement from the other

* Barber's Connecticut, Groton.

fort; they were all feasting and rejoicing over their successes; and on the morrow they were to go out against the enemy. Tired at last with their games, they lay down to sleep: almost all of them for the last time.*

The English rose before daybreak, [Friday, June 5th,] and solemnly commended themselves and their enterprise to the care of God. Mason led on for about two miles, through an Indian path; when, not being able to discover any sign of a fort, he halted at the foot of a large hill, and passed the word for some of the Indians to come up.



North View of Pequot Hill, Groton.

Uncas and a Nehantic sagamore, named Wequash, were the only ones who made their appearance. "Where is the fort?" said Mason. "On the top of the hill," they replied. "And where are the rest of the Indians?" "In

* Mason. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XVIII, pp. 137, 138.

the rear, very much afraid." "Tell them not to fly," was the answer, "but stand behind, at what distance they please, and see now whether Englishmen will fight."*

The English being now on the western side of the hill, Mason sent Underhill, with part of the men, round to the southern slope, to attack the fort on that quarter, while he, with the remainder, led directly up towards the principal entrance.

Fatigued with their dance of the evening before, the Pequots were all buried in a profound sleep. It was just about daybreak, when men's slumbers are usually the soundest, and when the Indians themselves were most fond of attacking a sleeping foe. Mason and his soldiers advanced silently and undiscovered until the captain was within a rod of the rude palisade. At this moment a dog barked, and a Pequot yelled out, Owanux! Owanux! (Englishmen! Englishmen!) The assailants moved rapidly forward, gave one fire through the palisade, and then rushed to the gateway. It was blocked up with bushes, but Mason clambered over them, and the others pulled them out of the way and poured in after him. A loud cry from the Pequots answered the volley of musketry; they started up in fear and astonishment, but not knowing what to do remained cowering in their cabins. Mason entered the main street, and looked up and down it without seeing a single Indian. He then forced his way into one of the wigwams, where he was immediately attacked by several warriors, who attempted to seize hold of, and capture, him. The gallant captain defended himself stoutly, killing one or two of the assailants with his

* Mason. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XVIII, p. 138.

sword; and a soldier, named William Heydon, stumbling in after him, the Indians fled or hid themselves under the beds. In such a style the English, scattered over the fort, maintained a desultory conflict, in which many of the Pequots were slain, and some, likewise, of the assailants wounded. It had been determined not to burn the village, but to destroy the garrison by the sword and save the plunder.* But this, Mason soon saw, would be impossible. The Pequots were continually shooting from the cabins; some of his men were already wounded; the others were confused, scattered, and knew not what to do; and he was himself fatigued and out of breath with his exertions. "We must burn them," he shouted; and, entering a wigwam, he seized a firebrand and applied it to the dry mats with which the rude dwelling was covered. The fire kindled in an instant; the northeast wind swept it from cabin to cabin; the whole fort was rapidly involved in a furious conflagration. The party on the southern side had but just effected its entrance. It had met with a gallant resistance; one of its numbers had been killed; and Underhill himself was wounded in the hip by an arrow. Seeing that the village was on fire, he kindled it farther by means of powder; and then, with his followers, retreated from the already intolerable heat. Mason had done the same, and both parties, with the Indians in the rear, formed a line about the blazing fortress. The shrieks of women and children, the yells and howlings of men, rose from the conflagration, and mingled with the roar of the English musketry and the exulting shouts of the Mohegans and Narragansetts. Despair

* Mason. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XVIII, p. 139.

seized on the wretched inhabitants: some perished in the flames without attempting to escape: others rushed into them, either deliberately, or in the blindness of mortal terror. Many brave warriors fought to the last amidst the burning palisades, until their bowstrings were cracked and rendered useless by the fire. A number gathered without the fortress, on the windward side, and shot their arrows at the assailants until cut down by the merciless discharge of musketry. About forty of the boldest rushed out, and attempted to force their way through the victors and escape into the neighboring thickets. A few, only, effected their purpose: the others were struck down by the English swords, or by the arrows and tomahawks of the Indian allies.* The greater part perished amid the flames of their blazing dwellings; and so quickly did the fire do its work, that in little more than an hour this frightful death-agony of a community was over. About four hundred Indians had perished during this short period: only seven had been taken prisoners; and seven, at the utmost, had escaped.† Two of the English were killed, twenty were wounded, and others had been saved from wounds or death, only by the most singular providences. Mason was struck repeatedly on his helmet.

* "For the Narragansetts beset the fort so close that not one escaped."—*P. Vincent.* Mason, however, says seven escaped, and Underhill, five.

† Mason says six or seven hundred perished; Winthrop says one hundred and fifty warriors, and one hundred and fifty old men, women and children; Underhill says four hundred. Judging from the number of wigwams in the fort, which was seventy, I should say that the estimate of Mason was above, and that of Winthrop under, the truth. The estimate of Underhill, also, may be underrated by fifty or even a hundred; yet P. Vincent, another narrator and eye-witness of the battle, puts the victims at only between three and four hundred.

John Dier and Thomas Stiles were shot in the knots of their neckcloths. Lieutenant Bull received an arrow into a hard piece of cheese which he carried in his pocket.

The victory had now been achieved, but the situation in which the conquerors found themselves was extremely embarrassing, if not dangerous. They were overcome with fatigue by their rough march, by broken sleep and by fighting; and four or five of their number were so wounded that they had to be carried by twenty more. Others were obliged to bear the arms of these last; and thus only about forty men were left in a condition for service. Some of the Indian allies, also, were wounded; and the Narragansetts, finding that the white men were going westward, began to draw off towards their own country. The English anxiously scanned the surface of the sound, but could discover nothing of their vessels, and therefore knew not to what point to direct their march. After waiting about an hour, they were relieved from their perplexity by seeing their little fleet, six or seven miles distant, sweeping with a fair wind into the Pequot River. At the same moment a large body of warriors, seemingly three hundred in number, was discovered rapidly approaching from the west. This was composed of the Pequots from the other fort, and, doubtless, from all the surrounding country, who had been startled by the distant roll of musketry, and were coming to revenge the destruction of their kinsmen. Such, however, was the feebleness, the perfect imbecility of bows and arrows when opposed to fire-arms, that this numerous band of warriors, animated with the desire of vengeance, was met on its near approach, checked and driven back,

by a couple of files of soldiers not amounting to more than fourteen men. The English were encouraged by seeing this evidence of the incapacity of the enemy in the open field, and commenced their retreat, directing their march towards the mouth of the Thames. The Pequots followed them until they came to the site of the recent catastrophe, where they halted to gaze at the scene of destruction. In place of their late fortress with its seventy wigwams, bidding defiance, as they thought, to every enemy, they beheld only smoking, smouldering ruins, mingled with scorched and mangled corpses. There lay the aged counselor, the wise powwow, and the brave warrior; there lay little children, who, but the day before, had played in mimic warfare about the hill; there lay mothers and wives, and young girls just entering upon womanhood: all dead by a horrible and agonizing death, and so disfigured that not even the eye of love could recognize them. The stoicism of the Pequot warriors gave way under so terrible a blow, and the English, as they looked back, could see them stamp and tear their hair in that bitter agony of grief and rage. In a few minutes they turned their thoughts to vengeance, and came rushing down the hill after the conquerors as if they would in an instant overrun and destroy them. But the deadly effects of the musketry soon checked their fury: some were killed, and the others ran about as if crazed, discharging their arrows at random. At the foot of the hill was a small brook, where Mason and his people halted and refreshed themselves, having already taught their pursuers to keep at a cautious distance. Here the English hired some of their Indian allies to carry the wounded;

and thus resumed their march in a better condition to act against the enemy. The Mohegans and Narragansetts now ventured to skirmish with the Pequots; both parties, says Underhill, fighting in such a manner that in seven years they would not kill seven men. They stood at a distance from each other, and aimed their arrows at an elevation; watched the course of each one, and never shot a second until they saw the effect of the first.*

During the retreat about fifty of the Narragansetts took advantage of what they thought a favorable moment, and set off towards their own country. The Pequots discovered, pursued and surrounded them; and were about to take a bloody revenge for their own misfortunes, when the other Narragansetts, beholding the danger of their countrymen, ran to the English officers and begged them to grant their assistance. The English were angry at the Narragansetts for what they called their desertion; but as they were unwilling to have them cut off, or to see the Pequots obtain a triumph, Underhill was sent with thirty men to the rescue. Underhill, who is a great braggart, says that a contest of an hour ensued, in which the Narragansetts were rescued and above one hundred of the Pequots killed or wounded. P. Vincent, who seems to have had a spite against Underhill, and in another place tries to make him out a poltroon, says that after five muskets were fired the Pequots fled. Underhill adds that the Indians were greatly astonished at the English mode of fighting; but called it *matchit* or evil, because too

* Mason. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XVIII, pp. 141, 142. Underhill. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 25, 26.

furious and destructive of too many lives.* The colonists prosecuted their retreat slowly and with caution; whenever they came to a swamp or thicket firing a few shots into it for the purpose of discovering and driving out any lurking ambush. The Pequots hung on their rear, shooting ineffectually from behind rocks and trees, until within about two miles of the river, when they drew together in a body and disappeared.

The English, with colors flying in token of their victory, marched on to the shore. On board their vessels they found Captain Patrick, with his forty men, who having reached Narragansett after the departure of the land army, but before that of the fleet, concluded to take the opportunity afforded by the latter and sail round to Pequot Harbor. The whole force would now have embarked immediately had it not been for an unwillingness to leave the Narragansetts alone in the enemy's country. Accordingly only the wounded and about thirty-five others were put on board the vessels, while Mason, with twenty men, Patrick, with forty, accompanied by all the Indians, set off overland for Saybrook. On their march they came upon a village belonging to the western Nehantics, the inhabitants of which fled at their approach and took refuge in a swamp. The English pushed in after them, drove them out on the opposite side, and chased them among the low hills a considerable distance. But finding that the Indians dispersed all over the country, they gave up the pursuit, and drawing together again, continued their march. Towards the evening of this toilsome and

* Underhill. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 26, 27. Vincent. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, p. 38.

eventful day they reached the mouth of the Connecticut, where their arrival was soon discovered, and welcomed with discharges of cannon, from the little fortress on the opposite shore.*

Thus ended the famous expedition of the colonists of Connecticut against the Pequots: an expedition conducted with admirable skill and courage, and crowned with the most astonishing success. But of its moral features, what shall we say? What shall we say of this indiscriminate butchery of both sexes and all ages, allowing none or almost none to escape, but consigning nearly a whole community to a death of unsurpassed anguish and horror? It was thought shocking when, nearly a century and a half later, and within a few miles of the same spot, the soldiers of Arnold bayonetted eighty-five gallant men, who yet had dared and resisted the assault, and who, by the laws of war, were liable to all its consequences. What then would have been said, had the English surrounded the village of New London by night, had they set fire to its houses, cut down those of the inhabitants who attempted to fly, and driven back the others, indiscriminately of age or sex, to perish in the flames? What repentance or atonement should we have thought sufficient to wipe away the stain of such an atrocity? When would our historians have ceased to record it, or our orators have forgotten to make it the subject of their indignant comments? Yet surely there is not such a difference between a barbarous and a civilized community, that the extermination, the complete, bloody and sudden extermination, of the one may be looked upon almost with

* Mason. Mass. Hist. Coll, Vol. XVIII, p. 143, 144.

insensibility, while that of the other would be regarded as a master-piece of atrocity.

On the other hand, there are several considerations which a supporter of Mason and his followers might, with considerable force, allege in their defense. Cruel, he might say, it certainly is, to put men, women and children to an undistinguishing slaughter; yet this cruelty may be palliated by provocations, and may be excused, or almost excused, by necessity. The Pequots themselves had certainly no right to talk about the violation of the rules of humanity; for the English only did to them what they would have exulted in doing to the English, and what they had repeatedly done to individuals among the English. The colonists had seen their wives and daughters tomahawked by the enemy; they had been told of their friends and brothers put to death in cool blood by lingering torments; they had heard the savage foe boast of these ferocities, and repeat with mockery the groans and prayers of the unhappy sufferers. What wonder then, that when they could put the cup of vengeance to the lips of their enemies, they should seek to fill it to the brim? And more: when Mason gave the order to burn the fort, the conflict was still raging, and victory was wavering in the balance. All the colonists were exhausted by fatigue;* some of them had been killed, others wounded; and the remainder were confused with the numbers of the enemy. The Indian allies had as yet rendered no assistance, and still remained un-

* "About two hours before the day, we marched towards the fort, being weary and much spent, many of us having slept none at all."—*Hubbard's Indian Wars, p.* 38.

decided whether to advance or to fly. Had Mason continued to fight on as he began, so many of his soldiers would have been killed and disabled that the rest might have been overwhelmed by the warriors from the other village, or, at best, obliged to abandon their wounded and make a calamitous retreat. Had he, at this critical moment, ordered a retreat, the Narragansetts would have fled, the Pequots would have resumed the offensive, and the whole object of the expedition would have certainly been lost. He did neither: he adopted the wise though stern alternative of making fire assist steel; and from this moment his success was no longer uncertain.

My own opinion of the burning of the Pequot fort is, that it was a piece of stern policy, mingled with something of revenge, from which floods of argument could not wash out a stain of cruelty.* If it receives any approval, it must be that of the intellect and not that of the heart. It would not be fair, however, to try the men of a stern and iron age by the high standard to which humanity has been elevated at the present day. Of this we must be cautions if we wish to be just. It is worthy of remembrance also, that the colonists were led by two old soldiers, Mason and Underhill, to whose charge much doubtless of their lack of mercy must be laid.

After the Pequots left off the pursuit of the English, they returned, gloomy and dispirited, yet enraged, to their remaining fortress. They revenged themselves for the courage and success with which Uncas and his followers had assisted the English, by killing all of their relations, who remained among them, except seven. These made

* See Appendix, Article II.

their escape by flight, and some of them afterwards told the colonists that one hundred of the Pequots were killed and wounded in attacking Mason's army during the retreat.*

On the next day a council of the nation was held, at which three plans of action were proposed and discussed: to fly from the country; to attack the English; to attack the Narragansetts. Sassacus, whose spirit was still unbroken, urgently supported the braver alternatives; but the great body of the nation, overwhelmed by the extent and fearful nature of their calamity, were resolved upon flight. They were determined to leave their country, their cabins and the graves of their ancestors, rather than remain longer in the vicinity of enemies whose hostility was so dreadful, and whose wrath fell like the lightning, destroying before it was seen. With sad and heavy hearts they applied the firebrand to their fortress and wigwams, destroyed all their property which could not be carried away; and then, separating into several parties, began to leave the land which they had so gloriously conquered, and hitherto so successfully defended.† One band of thirty or forty warriors, with a great number of women and children moved westward a short distance; but, losing heart, returned once more to its ancient country, and took up its residence in a swamp.‡ The main body, consisting of several hundred souls, headed by Sassacus, by Mononotto, and by most of the sagamores who remained,

* Vincent. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, p. 39. Mason. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XVIII, p. 145.

† Underhill. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, p. 28.

‡ Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 232.

prosecuted the enterprise with greater steadiness. On reaching the Connecticut, they had an opportunity of tasting a slight revenge for the miseries which the English had caused them to suffer. They found three colonists descending the river in a shallop, and attacked them. The white men fought bravely, and wounded many of their assailants, but were overpowered by numbers; one was killed and the other two were taken. The Indians split the bodies open from back to breast, and hung them on trees by the bank, that the English who passed up and down the river might behold them, and see the vengeance of the Pequots.*

They now crossed the Connecticut, and marched down to the coast for the sake of being more plentifully supplied with food. As it was spring, they were able to bring nothing away from their fields, and their last year's provisions must have been well-nigh exhausted. They were forced to dig in the forests for roots, and to hunt carefully along the shores for clams and oysters. Their women and children obliged them to make short journeys; and thus the country was exhausted of provisions before they could pass through it. At night they all slept on the ground in the open air, exposed to the wind and the chilling, drenching rain. Doubtless we know little of the miseries which the Pequots endured in this gloomy retreat. They passed through the territories of the Hammonassetts, the Quinnipiacs, and the Wepawaugs or Paugussetts; and finally halted in a large swamp in the present township of Fairfield, destined to be the scene of their last unavailing struggle.

* Underhill. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXVI, p. 28.

The success of Mason awakened great joy throughout the colonies, and it was resolved to give the enemy no time to recover from the blow. But, as the strength of the Pequots was concluded to be already much broken, the force to be sent from the Bay was diminished to one hundred and twenty men. Stoughton sailed, with a part of this number, towards the latter end of June, and landed at the mouth of Pequot River. He marched a considerable distance westward; and, finding none of the enemy, returned to his starting place. Here some Narragansetts came to tell him, that a party of their countrymen were holding a great body of Pequots confined in a swamp. This was the band which has already been mentioned, as having journeyed westward a little way, and then turned back to its former haunts. Stoughton set off under the guidance of the Narragansetts; and about twelve miles distant found the unfortunate Pequots, too few to fight, and so cooped up as to be unable to fly. The whole band was captured, apparently without resistance; two sachems were saved on promise that they would guide the English to the retreat of Sassacus; the remainder of the men, some twenty or thirty in number, were massacred in cold blood.* There were about eighty women and children, of whom thirty were given to the Narragansetts, three to the Massachusetts Indians, and the remainder sent to the Bay as slaves. All this is truly horrible; and, if a historian were not, like a witness on oath, under strict obligation to tell the whole truth as well as nothing but the truth, I should be tempted to pass the transaction over in charitable silence. The

* Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 232. Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 42.

present age, however, can easily parallel and even surpass it.

Stoughton was now joined by forty Connecticut men under Mason; so that a considerable force was collected for the ensuing campaign. It would have been well for the reputation of our ancestors for humanity, if they could have persuaded themselves to let the starving and dispirited Pequots fly in peace. What need was there of pursuing them sixty miles through a wilderness, into a land where no English settlement existed, and where the foot of no Englishman had ever trod? But it was determined to make a full end of the Amelekites; to make sure that they never again infested the borders of the Lord's people; and to prevent them from occupying a country which Israel might hereafter desire to inhabit. Alas for the fanaticism and sternness, which sometimes marked the character of the early settlers of New England, and darkened its truly noble virtues! They were not behind their age in gentleness indeed, but it is to be feared that they were very little in advance of it.

Most of the combined forces embarked at Saybrook to pursue the Pequots by sea, while a few men joined Uncas, who, with a number of his followers, was following on the trail of the fugitives by land. Uncas and his people easily kept on the traces of the exiles; and observing what short journeys they had made, and how they had been compelled to dig for roots and shell fish, were encouraged with the hope of overtaking them. Wanderers who had separated from the main body were occasionally captured on the way, and information obtained from them concerning the numbers and condition of the refugees.

The two sachems who had been taken by Stoughton refused, or were perhaps unable, to act as guides; and were accordingly put to death at Menunketuc, now Guilford.* Winthrop says that it was this circumstance which gave the name to the point called Sachem's Head; but Mr. Ruggles, in his history of Guilford, gives a different and more interesting version of the matter. He says that, during their march, Uncas and his party came upon a Pequot sagamore with a few followers, and immediately pursued them. The Pequots ran along the shore until they came to the eastern point of Guilford harbor; and, hoping that their pursuers would pass by on the mainland, they turned off on to this little cape and concealed themselves near the extremity. Uncas, however, was too old a hunter to be deceived by such artifices; and he commanded that some of his men should search the point, while the others passed round to the opposite shore. The Pequots, seeing an enemy in the rear, swam across the mouth of the harbor, and were attacked and taken as they landed. Uncas shot the chief with an arrow, cut off his head, and stuck it up in the crotch of a large oak, where the ghastly trophy remained withering and bleaching for many years.†

Meantime the fleet coasted along to the westward, and in three days reached the harbor on which now stands the beautiful city of New Haven. Here a great smoke was discovered on shore, curling up from among the trees; and the troops landed hastily, hoping that they had found the enemy. They hurried through the forests with all speed; but on reaching the spot from which the smoke

* Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 233. † Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. X, p. 100.

arose, were sadly disappointed to find that it was not the work of the Pequots, but of the timid and friendly Indians of the vicinity.* At Quinnipiac, a Mohegan, named Jack Etow, signalized himself by a feat which shows how greatly the Pequots had become depressed by their misfortunes. Meeting three of this unfortunate tribe in the forest, he captured two of them, and carried his prisoners on board the English vessels.† Poor wanderers! perhaps they had been, for weeks, on the verge of starvation, and now surrendered for the sake of obtaining a little food, or some shelter from their continual hardships.

One Pequot was granted his life on condition that he would search out Sassacus, and either kill him, or bring back an account of his place of retreat. He departed, found his sachem, and remained in his company several days without obtaining an opportunity to execute his purpose. His murderous designs were at last suspected, and he had to fly, by night, to avoid the watchful jealousy of his countrymen. He returned faithfully to the English camp, this Pequot Arnold, and reported the numbers and situation of the forlorn band of fugitives.

The army now commenced its march westward towards Sasco, a place where there was a great swamp not far from the seashore. On the way an incident occurred, which is related by Johnson, one of the most singular of the early New England writers, and which, as he has told it, is truly ludicrous. As the army was toiling through the forest, it passed by a deep thicket in which two stout Pequots were lying very quietly, watching

* Mason. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XVIII, p. 145.
† Mason. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XVIII, p. 146.

an opportunity to achieve some notable exploit. They waited until, as they supposed, the last man had come up, when, rushing suddenly out, they tripped up his heels, hoisted him on to their shoulders, and started off with him into a swamp. The soldier, says Johnson, unwilling to be made a pope of by being borne upon men's shoulders, struggled all he could to get away, and roared for help at the top of his voice. Fortunately for him, his lieutentant, one Davenport, was still behind, and coming up to his help, commenced an attack upon the Indians with his cutlass. Upon this, the Pequots converted their burden into a buckler, and tumbled the poor soldier about in a most marvellous manner, and with such dexterity, that, for some time, Davenport could not bring a stroke to bear upon them. This could not last long, however; blood was soon seen flowing down the tawny skins of the Indians, and, letting go of their intended prize, they fled hastily into the thicket.*

After a march of some twenty or twenty-five miles, the men in advance came to a corn-field, and, at the same time, saw a number of Indians on a hill which rose at a little distance farther on. The Indians discovered them at the same instant, and immediately fled over the hill, vigorously pursued by the white men. When the latter reached the top of the eminence, they beheld a large swamp beyond, filled with thickets, and on the other side of it about twenty wigwams. As the swamp consisted of two parts, almost separated from each other by firm ground, twelve or thirteen men ran to surround the smaller end, while Lieutenant Davenport and several

* Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XIV, p. 50.

others entered in front, with the intention of pushing directly through. The Pequots had received sufficient notice of the approach of the strangers to leave their lodges and take refuge in the swamp. The sachem of the place, with his people, either constrained by his fierce guests, or fearful that the white men would do him some injury, had done the same. The morass was now, therefore, occupied by nearly three hundred Indians, of whom eighty or a hundred were Pequot warriors. When Davenport and his men rushed into it, they were received with a shower of arrows, and some of them were wounded, and thrown down in the mire. The Pequots sprang forward upon them; the English drew their swords to defend their companions; and for a few moments the two parties fought hand to hand. Several Indians being killed, however, the others were beaten back, and the wounded men were extricated from their perilous situation.*

The army now surrounded the swamp, and began a leisurely fire of musketry; but made no farther attempts to force an entrance. Being unwilling to go on shooting women and children, which they were certain of doing in this manner, the colonists determined to grant a parley; and Thomas Stanton, the same who had parleyed with a band of Pequots at Saybrook, offered his services as interpreter. He went a little ways into the morass, and having obtained a hearing, told the Indians that life should be granted to all who had not been guilty of English blood. The sachem of the place accepted the offer, and came out with his people. One company after another of the old men, women and children of the Pequots

* Mason. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XVIII, pp. 146, 147. Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 231.

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BATTLE AT FAIRFIELD SWAMP

followed, until, in about two hours, nearly two hundred persons had left the swamp. None remained, it is probable, but the Pequot warriors. Few of these could ever have slain Englishmen, and the greater portion of them might have surrendered with an almost certain prospect of being let off with life. Who then can refuse to admire that heroic spirit and noble self-devotion, which would not suffer them to desert each other in this last extremity? With one resolution they exclaimed: "We will fight it out to the last." They shot their arrows at the messenger of peace, and rushed upon him with such violence that the soldiers had to run to his rescue.*

As night came on, the English cut through the narrow part of the swamp, so that the men, by standing at a distance of twelve feet from each other, were able completely to surround the enemy. All night the Pequots kept creeping close up to the guards and discharging their arrows at them; but, although the clothes of the latter were often pierced, not one of them received a wound. The English musketry was not thus ineffective, as was discovered by the dead bodies found next day, half-buried in the trampled mire.†

A little before morning, a heavy fog came on, and the Pequots took advantage of the deepening obscurity to attempt their escape. They rushed with loud yells upon that part of the line guarded by Patrick's men, and returned to the charge as fast as they were driven back. As the battle increased in violence, the other leaders came

* Mason. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XVIII, p. 147. Winthrop, Vol. I, pp. 231, 232.

† Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 48.

up to assist Patrick, and the line of the besiegers was broken up. While Mason was marching along the edge of the swamp, he found the Pequots pressing out upon him. He repulsed them with a discharge of musketry, upon which they immediately turned, and, falling once more upon Patrick's line, forced their way through and fled. Sixty or seventy thus made their escape, of whom some were found dead in the pursuit on the following day. A quantity of wampum and Indian utensils was taken, and the victorious army carried back one hundred and eighty prisoners*

In this battle Sassacus had not been engaged. On finding by the attempt of his renegade countryman that he was still exposed to the attacks of his enemies, he had resolved to take refuge in yet more distant regions. Accompanied by Mononotto, with twenty, or, as some say, forty, of his bravest warriors, and carrying five hundred pounds worth of wampum, he fled to the country of the Mohawks. To desert his people in the midst of their dangers, does not seem to correspond with his fame as a great chieftain and a brave warrior. There are two ways, however, in which his conduct may be honorably explained. It was reported among the English, that some of the Pequots accused him of being the author of their misfortunes, and would perhaps have killed him in their rage, had it not been for the interference of his friends. This quarrel may have pursued him into his present retreat, and forced him to leave his countrymen even against his will. It is possible, in the second place, that, seeing there was no safety but in farther flight, he may have

* Mason. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XVIII, p. 148. Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 232.

urged his fellow exiles to undertake it, and only left them when he found his persuasions useless. He did not, however, avoid his fate. The Mohawks, moved, it was reported, by a bribe from the Narragansetts, perhaps also by a desire of gratifying the English, fell upon him by surprise, and killed him, with all his companions but Mononotto, who fled away wounded and alone. In the succeeding August, the scalps of Sassacus, of one of his brothers, and of five others of the murdered sachems, were sent to Connecticut to convince the English of the death of their brave enemy.*

The colonists at first tried to make use of their prisoners as servants, or, more properly, as slaves; but such was the uneasiness of these proud children of the forest, and so troublesome did they make themselves to their masters, that very few of them remained any long time in servitude.† A small number, as we learn from Winthrop, were shipped off by the Massachusetts people, and sold in the West Indies.

Among the prisoners taken in the Fairfield swamp were the wife and children of Mononotto. It was already known, that chiefly through her influence had the two girls taken at Wethersfield been saved from death; and she now attracted the admiration of the English by her intelligence and modesty, no less than she had deserved their gratitude by her humanity. Her only requests were, that her honor might not be violated, and that she might not be separated from her children. She was probably assigned, like most of her fellow captives, to some Eng-

* Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 235.

† Mason. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XVIII, p. 148.

lish family; but Governor Winthrop gave strict injunctions that she should be treated with kindness.*

At the close of the swamp fight, it was calculated that seven hundred Pequots had been killed or captured; and the prisoners taken on that occasion reported, that, out of the twenty-six sagamores of their nation, only thirteen survived. A large part of these last, also, must have perished in the massacre with Sassacus.†

Broken and dispirited, the Pequots now became an easy prey to their enemies; and the Mohegans and Narragansetts continually brought their heads or hands into the English settlements. Among these ghastly trophies was a hand of the sagamore who led the band which massacred Stone and his companions on the Connecticut. Some of the chased and persecuted tribe took refuge with their late tributaries, the western Nehantics; some fled to Long Island; some to the banks of the Hudson; and others, tradition afterwards said, retreated as far as the back portions of Virginia and North Carolina. Many threw themselves on the mercy of Uncas, and some even on that of their ancient and hated enemies, the eastern Nehantics and the Narragansetts. The Narragansetts were bound by a treaty not to receive them, and they appear to have kept their agreement with considerable fidelity. Those few who came to them they usually carried to Boston and handed over to the English magistrates. At one time they brought in nearly eighty of these prisoners, of whom twenty were men, and one of them a considerable sagamore. The Mohegans, and perhaps the Nehantics, were under no such obligation; and they probably made little

* Hubbard's Narrative, p. 49. † Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 234.

hesitation about receiving and adopting as many of the defeated tribe as would come to them. As early as July, 1637, less than two months after the fight at Fort Mystic, the authorities of Massachusetts had a quarrel with Ninigret, the Nehantic sachem, about his harboring Pequots.* Uncas, too, whose clan was exceedingly feeble before the war broke out, now began to make it formidable by the number of refugees from the dispersed tribe which he continually received into it. Pequots and Mohegans were, until lately, all the same people; and when they were mingled together it was difficult, if not impossible, for the colonists to distinguish them. But the proceedings of the crafty sachem were revealed to the English by the Narragansetts, between whom and Uncas a bitter hostility began to grow up even before the close of the present war.

In July, 1638, while the persecution of the scattered Pequots still dragged on, Uncas, with thirty-seven of his warriors, made a ceremonial visit to Boston. Being admitted before the council of the colony, he laid down twenty fathoms of wampum as a present for the governor. He was told that the governor would not accept it until he had made explanations and given satisfaction concerning the Pequots whom he had received and now harbored. Uncas was terribly perplexed. He saw the rock upon which Sassacus had split, and was determined not to draw upon himself the anger of the English, while, at the same time, he could not bear to part with any of his followers. He denied that he had any Pequots, and affirmed most expressly, that all the company then present

* Winthrop, Vol. I, p. 232.

with him were true Mohegans. His protestations and his evident grief softened the displeasure of the magistrates, and they accepted his present. He now took courage. Placing his hand on his heart, and addressing the governor, he said: "This heart is not mine: it is yours. I have no men: they are all yours. Command me any hard thing and I will do it. I will never believe any Indian's words against the English. If any Indian shall kill an Englishman, I will put him to death be he never so dear to me."*

To the spirit exhibited in this speech Uncas was faithful, so far as it agreed with his own advantage, as long as he lived. Entirely devoted to his own interest, he found that he best advanced that interest by exhibiting great devotion to the powerful foreigners. He was faithful to them just as the jackal is faithful to the lion: not because it loves the lion, but because it gains something by remaining in his company.

How sincere he was in his dealings on this occasion, we may learn from a fact preserved in the letters of Roger Williams. As Uncas was returning from Boston he passed within a mile of Williams' house; and, one of his company being disabled from traveling by lameness, turned aside there to rest. This man, named Wequaumugs, had a Narragansett father and a Mohegan mother, so that he was on free terms in the country of either tribe. He soon fell into conversation with his kind host, and answered his questions without reserve. He stated that there were only two Pequots with Miantinomo, neither of whom had come in of themselves, but both having been captured by

* Winthrop, Vol. I, pp. 265, 266.

his warriors. In the Nehantic country there were about sixty under Wequash Cook, nephew of Ninigret the Nehantic sachem. Williams then asked him if there were any Pequots in the company which Uncas took with him to Boston. Wequaumugs replied that there were six, and gave their names, observing that two of them, Pamatesick and Weaugonhick, were slayers of Englishmen. Williams wrote down the names, and sent them, with an account of the conversation, to Governor Winthrop, that Uncas might not lose the credit of his praise-worthy fidelity to the English, and his singular regard for truth.* The revelation must have been peculiarly gratifying to Winthrop, as he had given the sachem a fine red coat on his departure, had defrayed his expenses while he remained in Boston, furnished him with provisions for his homeward journey, and dismissed him with a general letter of protection.

The Pequots who remained independent at last became tired of being chased about, like wolves and foxes, from one hiding place to another. They sent in some of their chief men to Hartford, with an offer that, if only their lives might be spared, they would give themselves up to the English and become their servants. This offer was accepted; and Uncas and Miantinōmo were both summoned to Hartford, to agree with the magistrates in the disposition of the conquered people. This invitation demonstrates, perhaps, the power and influence to which Uncas had already arisen. Had he been no more potent now than he was at the commencement of the war, it is very possible that he might not have received such a token

* Rhode Island Hist. Coll., Vol. III, pp. 140, 141.

of consideration. It seems probable, also, that the colonists had already fixed their eye upon him, as one whom they could safely build up as a bulwark and a watch-tower for themselves against the other aborigines of this part of New England. Another cause likewise existed for this meeting, in a circumstance to which I have before alluded. The Pequots and Mohegans had already ceased fighting, and began to unite under Uncas' authority. Partly in consequence of this, and partly from the remembrance of ancient hostility, a quarrel had arisen between this new community and the Narragansetts. Insults and injuries were bandied to and fro; and the sachems were now summoned to Hartford, as well to adjust their own disputes, as to settle the distribution of the Pequots.

Miantinŏmo set out for the place of meeting in great state; being attended by his wife and children, by several sachems, and no less than one hundred and fifty warriors. Three Englishmen also traveled in his company, one of whom was Roger Williams. This large number of warriors was, probably, not so much in ostentation, as for protection against real or fancied danger from the followers of Uncas. On the way, various Narragansetts were met coming from Connecticut, who complained that they had been plundered by the Pequots and Mohegans. Some Wunnashowatuckoogs,* a tribe subject to Canonicus, also came into camp and told alarming stories. "They had been robbed," they said, "two days before, by a band of six or seven hundred Indians, composed of Pequots and Mohegans, and others who were their confederates. This great band had spoiled twenty-three

* Probably a Nipmuck clan.

fields of their corn, and had rifled several Narragansetts who were staying among them. Now they were lying in wait to stop Miantinomo on his journey; and some of them had threatened to boil him in a kettle."

These reports being continually swelled and strengthened, the three Englishmen, with the design of preventing bloodshed, advised a return; and Roger Williams proposed to go himself to Connecticut, by water, and use his influence to have a stop put to this insolence of the Mohegans. But as the distance was already half accomplished, Miantinomo rejected this plan; and resolved at any risk to proceed in the path on which he had set out. The journey was continued, therefore; the sachems marching in the center; Roger Williams and his companions in front; and forty or fifty men scouting the woods on either side. No attack was made, perhaps none was intended; and, proceeding in this manner, they finally crossed the Connecticut and entered the little village of Hartford.

As soon as he obtained an interview with the magistrates, Miantinomo brought forward his complaints against Uncas, for all the acts of injustice and violence which he had committed, or was said to have committed, upon the Narragansetts. The Mohegan chief was not there, having sent a messenger to say that he was lame and could not come. Haynes, a principal member of the council, and afterwards governor of the colony, replied that it was a very lame excuse; and dispatched an urgent request that he should make his appearance. Uncas recovered from his lameness sufficiently to reach Hartford; and an examination was then commenced of the charges brought against him by the Narragansetts. The Mohegan sachem

brought in one of his followers, to testify in his defense. This man stated that he was in the party which was said to have plundered the Wunnashowatuckoogs; that instead of six hundred and sixty warriors, as the Narragansetts affirmed, there were only one hundred; and that they did nothing more than roast corn, and a few other harmless things of the like nature. The Narragansetts contradicted this, and the Mohegans rejoined: both parties commenced criminations and recriminations: the magistrates heard them patiently for a while, to let them blow off their anger in words; but, having no evidence upon which they could depend, they finally ordered the charges to be dismissed. They then attemptod to effect a reconciliation between the sachems, and succeeded so far as to make them shake hands. Miantinomo seemed to be the most sincere, and twice invited his rival to feast with him on some venison which his men had just killed. The magistrates urged Uncas to accept the invitation; but, either from sullenness, or from suspicion of the Narragansett's intentions, he refused.

In a private conference Miantinomo gave in the names of six Pequot sachems who remained, and of all the surviving men of that nation who had been guilty of English blood. A list of these names was written out, and was afterwards read to Uncas, who acknowledged it to be correct. The sachems, or, more properly sagamores, were Nausipouck, now on Long Island, Puppompogs, brother of Sassacus, Kithansh and Nanasquionwut at Mohegan, and Mausaumpous at Nehantic.

An investigation was now commenced, as to the number of Pequots still remaining, and where they were to

be found. Canonicus, the Narragansetts said, had not one. Miantinomo had ten or eleven, the remains of seventy who had, at various times, submitted to him, but had either never come to his country, or had afterwards departed. All the rest of the Pequots, they asserted, were now in their ancient territory or among the Mohegans.

Uncas was very unwilling to give in his account, and endeavored to avoid it with his characteristic duplicity. "He did not know the names of his Pequots," he said, "and so could not state them. He had but a few. Ninigret and three other Nehantic sachems had Pequots; but, as for himself, he had only twenty."

Thomas Stanton, the interpreter, told him that he dealt very falsely; and other persons stated that he had fetched over thirty or forty Pequots from Long Island at one time. He now acknowledged that he had thirty, but declared that he was unable to tell their names. He was allowed ten days to bring in the names and the exact number; and a messenger was sent to the Nehantics to obtain a list of the Pequots who were with them.*

Whether these conditions were exactly fulfilled or not is uncertain; for we have no minute account of the further proceedings of this English and Indian council. At the next meeting, however, it was agreed on all hands, that about two hundred Pequots remained besides women and children. This number included all the grown males, the old, the infirm and the maimed, as well as those who were strong and fit for war.

A tripartite treaty, dated October 1st, 1638, was now entered into by John Haynes, Roger Ludlow and Edward

* Roger Williams' Letters. Rhode Island Hist. Coll., Vol. III, pp. 145—148.

Hopkins, for the English of Connecticut; by Miantinomo on behalf of the sachems of the Narragansetts; and Poquim, or Uncas, on the part of himself and the sagamores under him.

There was to be perpetual peace between the parties, all former provocations and enmities being buried forever. If, however, any quarrel should take place between the Narragansetts and Mohegans, the party aggrieved was to appeal to the English, whose decision was to be held binding. And if either of the tribes should refuse to be guided by that decision, the English might take up arms and forcibly compel it to submit. The Mohegans and Narragansetts were to destroy those Pequots who had been guilty of English blood, and to bring in their heads to the magistrates. The two hundred Pequots were to be divided, eighty to Miantinomo, twenty to Ninigret, and the remaining one hundred to Uncas. For these captives the chieftains were to pay an annual tribute of a fathom of wampum for every man, half a fathom for every youth, and a hand for every male child. The Pequots were not to live in their ancient country, nor to be called by their ancient name, but to become Narragansetts and Mohegans. Lastly, the Pequot territory was not to be claimed by the sachems, but to be considered as the property of the English of Connecticut.*

Such was the peace which closed the famous Pequot war; and thus, for a time, was the national existence of that brave though savage people extinguished.

* Rhode Island Hist. Coll. Vol. III, p. 177.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE DIVISION OF THE PEQUOTS TO THE DEATH OF MIANTINOMO.

The overthrow of the Pequots relieved the English colonists from a very troublesome barrier to the prosecution of their settlements in Connecticut. New emigrants arrived from England, and the white men began to flow into this recently opened field of colonization in considerable numbers. The whole land was open to them, for the natives were both fearful of their prowess, and grateful for their own late deliverance from the ravages and taxes of the Pequots. Neither had they the foresight to anticipate the evil consequences which would ensue to themselves from the establishment of the strangers in their country. They did not so much as suppose that it would cause the game to disappear; much less that it would result in their own depression and the extinction of their race. Setting little value upon land and much on the utensils and ornaments which the English could offer them, they willingly exchanged the one for the other, and perhaps thought, until they began to feel the consequences of their simplicity, that they were the greatest gainers by the transaction.

According to the late treaty, the Connecticut colonists claimed the country in which the Pequots had chiefly lived, as their own by right of conquest. This tract lay

on the coast, between the Niantic and Paucatuc Rivers, and comprised the ancient large townships of New London, Groton and Stonington. No one pretended to dispute the title of it with the victors, and they consequently never purchased it of any one, although for several years no settlements were commenced within its limits.

By their pursuit of the Pequot refugees, the English had become acquainted with the seacoast lying west of the Connecticut River. They were highly pleased with the advantages which it afforded them for settlements, and immediately commenced extending themselves in this direction. In the spring of 1638, six months before the final division of the Pequots, a considerable body of planters arrived from Boston in the little bay of New Haven. The Quinnipiacs made no objection to their stay, well pleased, no doubt, at the friendly settlement of so powerful a race among them, whose vicinity, they concluded, would act as a barrier to the incursions of the Mohawks. On the fourth of the following December, a treaty was entered into between the strangers and the aborigines: John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton stood forth on the part of the colonists; Momauguin, sachem of the Quinnipiacs, Shaumpishuh his sister, Sugcogisin, Quesaquanash,* Carroughood and Wesaucucke, his councillors, on the part of the Indians. The treaty opens by a declaration from Momauguin, his council and his people, that Momauguin is the sole sachem of Quinnipiac, and has, with his council and people, an absolute power to dispose of all or any part of it, unrestricted by any other person whatsoever. The declaration then goes on to

* In this treaty spelt Quosnquash; in that of Guilford as above.

say, that the Quinnipiacs had not forgotten the heavy taxes and continual alarms which they had felt and feared from the Pequots, Mohawks and other Indians; that, in consequence of their sufferings and terrors, they had not been able to remain in their own country, but had been forced to seek shelter among the English of Connecticut River; and that, since the English had begun to build and plant among them, they had tasted some of that ease and safety which all those Indians enjoyed who lived near the English and under their protection. For this reason they gave up to the white men all the lands of Quinnipiac, wherever they might extend, together with all the rivers, ponds, trees and other appurtenances which belonged to them. For themselves they stipulated, that they might hunt over the district as before, and that a tract might be reserved for them on the east side of the harbor sufficient for their small population to plant on. Even on this tract the English might use the meadows and cut down the trees at pleasure; nor should the Quinnipiacs, in their hunting, set their traps in such a manner as would be likely to injure the cattle of the settlers. Many other conditions were annexed, each party promising not to molest the other, and to make all suitable reparation if any injury should ever be done. The Quinnipiacs stated the numbers of their men and youths at forty-seven; and covenanted that they would admit no other Indians among them without first having leave from the English. The treaty was signed by the *totems* of the sachem, of his four councilors, and of his sister. The *totem* of Momanguin was a bow; that of Sugcogisin a fishhook; that of Quesaquanash an irregular horizontal

line; that of Wesaucuck apparently a war-club; while that of Shaumpishuh may or may not have been a tobacco pipe.*

In return for the gift of so large a tract of land, the colonists made the Quinnipiacs what they styled, "a free and thankful retribution" of the following articles: twelve coats of English trading cloth, twelve alchymy spoons, twelve hatchets, twelve hoes, two dozen of knives, twelve porringers, and four cases of French knives and scissors. Doubtless some such present as this was expected by the Indians; but the tenor of the treaty shows that their principal inducements in making it were, gratitude for the English protection, and a desire for its continuance. Knowing little of European modes of life, and judging of the colonists greatly by themselves, they supposed that the latter would cultivate but a little land, and support themselves, for the rest, by trading, fishing and hunting. Little did they think, that in the course of years the white population would increase from scores to hundreds, and from hundreds to thousands; that the deep forests would be cut down; that the wild animals would disappear; that the fish would grow few in the rivers; and that the poor remnant of the Quinnipiacs would eventually leave the graves of their forefathers, and wander away into another land. Could they have anticipated that a change so wonderful, and, in their history, so unprecedented, would of necessity follow the coming of the

* Records of New Haven Colony. A full copy of the treaty may be seen in Bacon's Historical Discourses. Appendix, pp. 331—336. Fac-similes of the totems of Momauguin and Shaumpishuh, with those of seventeen other Connecticut sachems and sagamores, are presented in the Appendix to the present volume, Article IV.

white man, they would have preferred the wampum tributes of the Pequots and the scalping parties of the Five Nations, to the vicinity of a people so kind, so peaceable and yet so destructive.

There is no proof, however, but that the treaty was well observed by both parties, or that any difficulty ever arose between them as long as the Indians remained in existence. In fact, the puritans of New Haven colony are perhaps not less worthy of praise than the quakers of Philadelphia for the peace and quietness which invariably existed between them and the aborigines.* The Quinnipiacs collected on their little reservation on the east side of the bay, where they lived for a long time, quiet and unnoticed, having a fort to protect them against invaders, and subsisting chiefly upon the shell-fish to be found in the harbor.

A few days subsequently, the New Haven settlers made a similar treaty [December 21st,] with Montowese, son of Sowheag, and sachem of the country north, northeast and northwest of Quinnipiac. The tract thus obtained was ten miles in breadth by thirteen in length, extending eight miles east of the river Quinnipiac, and five miles west. The population of so considerable a region, comprising at least one hundred and thirty square miles, consisted, besides the sachem, of ten warriors and a proportionable number of squaws and papooses. The English gave in return a present of eleven coats of trading cloth and one coat of fine cloth for Montowese: a small reservation,

* Perhaps some one will sneeringly ask, what has *become* of the Indians who used to live around New Haven? To which may be replied, with equal justice, What has become of the Indians who used to live around Philadelphia?

also, was made by the Indians, and they were allowed to hunt on the land as before. The *totem* of Montowese is attached to the treaty, and also that of Sawseunck, an Indian who attended to witness and give his consent to the transaction, and who may perhaps have been a deputy from Sowheag. The *totem* of Montowese was a bow with an arrow fitted on the string; that of Sawseunck was a hatchet. It is worthy of remark, as illustrating Indian customs, that in this treaty Montowese states that he obtained his land from his deceased mother, whom we may conclude, therefore, to have been the daughter of some petty sachem.*

In February, 1639, Ansantawae, sachem of the Paugussetts or Wepawaugs, sold the English a considerable tract near the center of the present township of Milford. The purchasers laid down before the sachem six coats, ten blankets, one kettle and a quantity of hoes, knives, hatchets and looking-glasses. A twig and a piece of turf were handed to Ansantawae by one of his followers. He stuck the twig into the turf and gave both into the hands of the English. By this ceremony, he considered himself to have passed over to them the soil, and all which the soil sustained. An instrument of sale was likewise drawn up, which was signed on the part of the Indians by Ansantawae, Anshuta, Arracowset, Manamatque and several others.† The Wepawaugs were considered so numerous at this time that the colonists deemed it necessary for their own safety to enclose the whole town plot of a mile square with a palisade.

* Records of New Haven Colony.

† Lambert's History of New Haven Colony, p. 86.

During the same year the little clan resident at Fairfield sold a large tract to the whites, who immediately commenced a settlement there, which they at first called, after the Indian name of the place, Unquowa. As the original records of Fairfield have been destroyed, the particulars of this sale are now unknown.

Another and the only other settlement effected in 1639, was the one commenced at Menunketuc, now Guilford. The purchase was made [October 9th] of Shaumpishuh, sister of Momauguin, and *sunk squaw* or female chief of the Indians of Guilford. The tract purchased extended from the Aigicomock or East River of Guilford, to a place called Kuttanoo, most probably some part of the present township of East Haven. For a consideration of twelve coats, twelve fathoms of wampum, twelve looking-glasses, twelve pairs of shoes, twelve pairs of stockings, twelve hatchets, four kettles, twelve knives, twelve hats, twelve porringers, twelve spoons and two English coats, Shaumpishuh and her people acknowledged themselves fully paid and satisfied. The Indians, according to agreement, soon left the purchased tract, part of them taking up their residence in Branford, and part moving still farther west and uniting with the main body of their kindred at East Haven. Among the former was Quesaquanash, who, with others, signed the treaty of New Haven; and among the latter was Shaumpishuh herself, who thus joined her brother Momauguin. The number of Indians who accompanied Shaumpishuh was fourteen men, six women, and fourteen children.*

It will be remembered that, during the Pequot war,

* Guilford Records.

some difficulties occurred between Sowheag and the planters of Wethersfield; and that, in consequence, the former joined the Pequots, or at least advised them, in their attack on that settlement. The affair was then brought before the General Court of Connecticut; but it was found, on examination, that the Wethersfield people had been the aggressors. A message was therefore sent to the Wangunk sachem, offering to renew friendship with him, provided he would surrender those of his men who had been concerned in the above mentioned attack. At this time the contest was not yet decided against the Pequots; and Sowheag, confiding in their assistance, and in the numbers of his own tribe, refused to give up his followers to the fate of malefactors. In August, 1639, the Pequot war being fully over, the matter was again brought before the Court, and the magistrates resolved to punish Sowheag as they had already punished the Pequots. A levy of one hundred men was ordered, and messengers were dispatched to Quinnipiac to warn the settlers there of the coming war, so that they might provide for their own defense. Governor Eaton and his fellow townsmen were not at all pleased at the news; entirely friendly hitherto with the Indians, they had not learned either to hate or fear them; they accordingly remonstrated with earnestness against the design; they mentioned the expenses and sufferings caused by the late contest, and they urged that the colonists needed all their men and means to prosecute the settlement of the country. The Connecticut settlers were wise enough to be convinced by these arguments; the difficulties of the Wethersfield people with Sowheag were amicably adjusted; and that

sachem, who had already removed to Mattabesett or Middletown,* was allowed to remain in peace.†

Another affair was under the consideration of the Court. News had been brought that many of the Pequots had violated the treaty of 1638, by gathering together as a distinct people, and settling in their ancient country. They had built a village on the banks of the Paucatuc, close to the territories of the Nehantics, and they probably acknowledged some sort of allegiance to the Nehantic sachems. As they had thus not only broken the treaty, but intruded on land which the English claimed as their own, the Court resolved that they should be punished and driven out by force. Forty soldiers were raised and placed under John Mason, and the expedition was joined by Uncas, with twenty canoes and one hundred warriors. The united armament then sailed to the mouth of the Paucatuc. On entering the river, Mason fell in with three Pequots of the devoted village, to whom he delivered a message for their countrymen. "They must leave the country immediately," he said, "or he would drive them away by force, carry off their corn, and burn their wigwams." The three Indians promised to bring back an answer; but, having once got out of the hands of the English, they took good care never to be seen again. Mason sailed up the river, disembarked, and attacked the village so suddenly that he captured some old men who had not time, in the general scamper, to make their escape. As it was now the Indian harvest, they found the wigwams stored with an abundance of corn.

* Treaty with Montowese in the New Haven Records.

† Colonial Records, Vol. I, pp. 19, 31. Trumbull, Vol. I, p. 108.

Uncas and his people immediately began to plunder; but, while they were engaged in this profitable service, about sixty Indians appeared on a neighboring hill and rushed down upon them. The Mohegans waited in silence until their enemies were within thirty yards, when, raising loud yells, and brandishing their weapons, they ran forward to the charge. A confused and noisy conflict ensued, while the English, drawn up one side, remained for a while quiet spectators of the scene. They were exceedingly amused with this Indian battle, in which there was a vast amount of shouting and yelling, but no lives lost, and very little blood spilt. After a few moments, Mason made a movement as if to surround the enemy, upon which they immediately dispersed and fled. Seven were taken prisoners; but the English killed none, as they were anxious to accomplish the object of the expedition without provoking the Indians to desperation and revenge. The captives, however, behaved so outrageously and insolently, that Mason was about, as he expressed it, to make them a head shorter; when Yotaash, a brother of Miantinomo, came forward and begged for their lives. "They are my brother's men," said he. "He is a friend to the English. You shall have the heads of seven murderers in their stead." The English were easily persuaded, and the captives were committed, for the present, to the care of Uncas, though with what result is now unknown.

At night the soldiers slept in the open air on the banks of a creek. Early in the morning they were startled by seeing a large body of Indians on the opposite side, whose numbers they estimated, in the uncertain light, at three

hundred. They sprang to their arms, on which the Indians immediately disappeared, some skulking behind rocks and trees, and others running entirely away. The English called across the creek, and asked to speak with them; upon which a considerable number rose from their hiding places and came forward. Mason then explained to them, through his interpreter, that he had a just cause for his present expedition; the Pequots having violated the treaty at Hartford, first by living as a separate people, secondly by settling in their ancient country. "The Pequots who live here are good men," replied the Indians; "and we will certainly fight for them and protect them."

"Very well," said Mason coolly; "it is not far to the head of the creek; I will meet you there, and you may do what you can at fighting." "We will not fight with the English," returned the Indians, "for they are spirits; but we will fight with Uncas."

These warriors were Nehantics and Narragansetts, who had come to prevent their tributaries from being driven from their country, but had not the hardihood to encounter the white men, who, from their late exploits, seemed to them *manittos*, or supernatural beings. Mason told them that he should spend the day in burning the Pequot village and carrying off the Pequot corn, and that they were at liberty to attack him whenever they chose. The drums beat, causing the woods to echo with their rolls of defiance; and the English went about their work at leisure, and finished it without being disturbed by an enemy. Having destroyed the village and laden his bark with corn, Mason sailed away, followed by his Mohegan allies. The latter rejoiced in a great quantity of trays,

mats, kettles and other Indian valuables, with which they had loaded their own canoes, as well as thirty others taken from their plundered enemies.* We hear but little of the Pequots for seven or eight years after this event; and it is certain that they gave no more military occupation to their nominal lords, the English colonists.

No one can reasonably condemn the foregoing transaction; no one can assert with truth that it was unjust, or hasty, or cruel. But it was followed by another, which I believe no unprejudiced person will refuse, or scarcely hesitate, to condemn. The colony of New Haven, remarkable for never having had a quarrel with the aborigines in its vicinity, sullied its fair fame by apprehending Messatunck, or Nepaupuck, a brave Pequot chieftain, as a criminal, and executing him as a murderer. This man had fought gallantly in the late war, was known to have killed Abraham Finch, a settler of Wethersfield, and was reported to have slain several other white men and carried their hands to Sassacus. After the subjugation of his tribe he wandered about, for some time, unnoticed; but venturing at last (October, 1639,) into the settlement of New Haven, with another Indian, was recognized and apprehended. He was bound, but had nearly escaped again by the help of his companion, when the attempt was discovered and prevented. He was thrown into the stocks, and his friend was dismissed with a sound flog-

* Mason's History. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XVIII, pp. 149—151. The band thus broken up was probably under Wequash, or Wequash Cook, who, as we learn from Roger Williams' letters, [Rhode Island Hist. Coll., Vol. III, p. 141,] had collected, even during the previous year, about sixty Pequots in the Nehantic country. After this disaster, Wequash removed to near Saybrook, on the Connecticut, where he died in 1642.

ging. The Quinnipiac sachem, with several of his tribe, were summoned before the magistrates of the colony, to declare what they knew of the prisoner The greatest part of them agreed that he had killed one or more English people, and that he had presented the hands of several to Sassacus, boasting that he had slain them himself. While the examination was progressing, a Quinnipiac, named Mewhebato, kinsman to the accused, came to intercede for his life. He was immediately brought before the Court and ordered to declare what he knew as to the prisoner's guilt. Trembling with fear at finding himself in the hands of the English magistrates, he at first pretended ignorance; but his countenance seemed distracted with terror, and being sternly admonished to speak truth, he finally confessed that his kinsman was guilty of the actions laid to his charge.

The Indian witnesses were now sent out, and Nepaupuck was brought in, and made acquainted with the charges against him. He replied, that these things were true with regard to Nepaupuck; but, as for himself, he was not Nepaupuck. Mewhebato, being again called in, told his kinsman, with a sorrowful air, that he knew him, and knew him to be guilty of the things of which he was accused. Wattone, son of Carroughood, one of the Quinnipiac councilors, now came into the Court, and charged the prisoner to his face with his guilt, asserting that he himself stood on an island in the Connecticut River, and saw him kill Abraham Finch of Wethersfield.* Momau-

* The Quinnipiacs, it will be remembered, had at that time taken refuge among the English settlements on the Connecticut from the attacks of the Pequots and the Mohawks.

guin and the other witnesses followed, affirming the prisoner's guilt and his identity with Nepaupuck.

Finding it impossible to deny his name, the captive now acknowledged that he was indeed the man, Nepaupuck. "He knew he must die; he was not afraid of death; the English might cut his head off, or kill him in any other way: only fire was God, and God was angry with him; wherefore he desired not to fall into his hands." He was now sent back to the stocks, and a guard set over him for his safe keeping.

The colony of New Haven was at this time distinct from the colony of Connecticut, and maintained a separate existence. It will be remembered, also, that the towns composing it were not founded at the time of the Pequot war, and that many of its inhabitants did not arrive in the country till that contest was virtually closed. Thus the actions for which Nepaupuck was imprisoned were not only committed without the jurisdiction of New Haven Colony, but even before that colony had an existence. Nevertheless, on the next day, [November 8th, 1639,] Nepaupuck was brought before a General Court of the colony, to be tried for his life as a murderer. There could be little doubt about the result. The Quinnipiacs gave their evidence as they had done before. The Court found Nepaupuck guilty of murder and condemned him to death. The prisoner was asked if he would not confess that he deserved to die. It is probable that he looked upon his own execution, not as a judicial act, such as the English were anxious to have it considered, but merely as an act of vengeance, such as his own people were accustomed to take upon their enemies. He simply replied, "*Weregin*,"

(It is well.) His head was cut off and fastened upon a pole in the market-place.*

Thus, for having fought bravely and with effect against the open enemies of his nation, a free Pequot chieftain suffered the ignominious death of a malefactor. To put him to death in such circumstances, was indeed in accordance with Indian custom, but certainly not with the customs of civilized lands. Nepaupuck was not an English subject; therefore not amenable to English laws. He was not among those Pequots who had submitted to the English; and, if he had been, he could not legally have been punished for actions committed previous to that submission. His trial, therefore, was a mere farce, a nothing, and in forming our judgment of the case, is to be overlooked. It is evident that his execution was dictated by the unjust and relentless policy of the colonists, of allowing their enemies only two alternatives, complete submission or entire extermination. And for Nepaupuck in particular there was no mercy: submission would have availed him nothing: he had killed Englishmen, and therefore, however taken, he must die. Certainly the Pequots themselves would hardly have been more stern in their policy, or more unrelenting in their vengeance.

During 1640 and 1641, the English continued to make their purchases of the Indians, and to establish themselves in the most convenient and fertile portions of the land. It will be remembered that, in 1636, Sequassen sold a wide district of his country, stretching from around Hartford, on the Connecticut River, as far west as the territories of the Mohawks. This, however, did not prevent

* New Haven Records.

a number of Hartford people, who settled Farmington in 1640, from making another purchase, for the sake of satisfying the Indians. They bought all the ground which the latter then had planted, and, in return, made them a reservation which has ever since been known under the name of Indian Neck. It was a beautiful little plain of rich meadow land, triangular in shape, inclosed on one side by the forest, and on the other two by the deep, narrow and slowly flowing current of the Farmington.*

Private sales and gifts were also not unknown, although apparently much less numerous in this early period than afterwards. No later, indeed, than 1638, an order seems to have been passed by the General Court, that no individual should purchase land from the Indians without authority from itself.† This law, and others of a similar nature, were always more or less violated; and it is of private individuals, I suspect, that the Indians have most to complain, wherever they have been unfairly deprived of their lands. But where or when have laws ever been observed with implicit obedience? And what community ever succeeded in conferring perfect security from dishonesty and violence on the property even of its own citizens? Doubtless, however, it was not for the benefit of the Indians only that the above order was promulgated; but also, if not entirely, for the purpose of asserting and

* Farmington Records.

† This law is mentioned by Doctor Johnson, who at one time was agent for Connecticut, in England, during the trial of the Mohegan Case. [Ind. Pap., Vol. I, Doc. 277.] It is not indeed to be found on the records of the colony, yet is it in one place distinctly referred to. [Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 214.] Trumbull states that such laws were enacted both by Connecticut and New Haven. See History of Connecticut, Vol. I, p. 117.

preserving the jurisdiction power of the General Court over the unbought and unoccupied lands of the colony.

On the fifth of March, 1640, the Norwalk Indians sold a considerable part of their territory to Roger Ludlow, an inhabitant of Fairfield. The deed comprehended all the land lying between the Norwalk and Saugatuc Rivers, a day's walk from the sea into the country. The price paid was eight fathoms of wampum, six coats, ten hatchets, ten hoes, ten knives, ten scissors, ten jewsharps, ten fathoms of tobacco, three kettles of six hands about, and ten looking-glasses. The deed of sale was signed by Mahackemo the sachem, and by Tomakergo, Tokaneke, Adam and Prosewamenos.

In the following April, Captain Daniel Patrick, the same who had fought against the Pequots, bought two islands off the mouth of Norwalk River, and a tract on the mainland west of the river. This purchase, also, was made of Mahackemo and his people; and the consideration given was similar in kind, although inferior in amount to the other.*

In 1641, [July 11th,] two sagamores, named Ponus and Wassacussue, sold Rippowams, now Stamford, reserving to themselves only a small parcel for planting. They received for the land twelve coats, twelve hoes, twelve hatchets, twelve glasses, twelve knives, two kettles, and four fathoms of white wampum; altogether, says Trumbull, equal to about thirty pounds.†

In recording these transactions a doubt easily crosses the mind, whether such purchases, where large tracts of land, which are now valuable, were obtained for consider-

* Hall's Hist of Norwalk, pp. 30, 41. † Pres. Stiles' Itinerary, Vol. II.

ations which to us would be trifling, can be considered fully in accordance with honesty and justice. It must be remembered, however, that the settlers were themselves what would now be considered poor; that the articles which they paid to the Indians were brought from a great distance, in vessels which came at long intervals; that twelve hoes and twelve hatchets, for instance, were no slight consideration to a community which, perhaps, did not possess a single plow;* and that the land which the purchasers obtained was worth almost nothing to them in its wild state, and could only be made valuable by hard and long continued labor. On the other hand, the act of the Indians was free; they were never induced to part with their land by threats and force; nor does it appear that they were ever, at this period, inveigled into it by intoxicating liquors. They were undoubtedly, at first, as highly pleased with the bargain as were the purchasers; and probably never thought of being dissatisfied, until they found that what they had received had been wasted, and what the white man had received had been improved.

It is worth while here, to stop and look at the first convert to the Christian faith among the aborigines of New England. This man was Wequash, the Nehantic sagamore, who assisted Uncas in guiding Mason and his army against the ill-fated fort at Mystic. Wequash was exceedingly astonished at the success of the colonists in that enterprise, and attributed to the superiority of the English

* In 1637, there were only thirty plows in all Massachusetts; it is probable that there were not ten, perhaps not five, in Connecticut. So says Trumbull [Vol. I, page 69, note;] and this was true, it will be noticed, seventeen years after the pilgrims landed in New England.

God over the gods of the Pequots. This belief led him to inquire of the settlers concerning their religion; and what he thus heard seemed to produce upon him a deep and lasting impression. He became more and more interested in the subject; he made it the chief theme of his conversation when among the English; and, in the opinion of some of them, he "attained to a good knowledge of the things of God and salvation by Jesus Christ."* Not satisfied with embracing the Christian religion himself, he began to preach it to his countrymen; but here he found none to sympathize with him, none who desired that treasure which he thought so precious. The Indians were violently attached to their ancient superstitions, and not only refused to follow the example of Wequash, but abused him, and treated him with contumely, for having forsaken the faith of his ancestors. The sagamore, however, was firm in his profession, and continued to hold religious conversations with his English friends, among whom were George Fenwick of Saybrook, and the still better known Roger Williams. During the year 1642, he fell dangerously sick, with strong suspicions that he had been poisoned by those Indians who hated him for having become a Christian. Two days before his death, Roger Williams happened to stop at Saybrook; and, while there, paid a visit to his esteemed friend, Mr. Fenwick. Being informed by that gentleman of the grievous sickness of Wequash, he expressed a desire to see him; and they both walked out, about two miles, to the cabin of the dying sagamore. Wequash conversed with them on his sickness and probable death, and bequeathed his only son,

* Winthrop, Vol. II, p. 74.

Wenamoag,* to Mr. Fenwick's care. Roger Williams then, as he tells us, "closed with him about his soul." In reply, Wequash told him how, two years before, he had lodged with him at Providence, and how he then informed him of the miserable condition of men in this world, of their fallen and sinful nature, of the wrath of God against them, and of the necessity of repentance and faith in Christ. "And," continued he, "your words were never out of my mind to this time: very much have I prayed to Jesus Christ." Williams, anxious that he should not deceive himself in this important hour, told him that many people did the same who yet never turned to Christ in their hearts nor loved him. The reply of the sagamore was in broken English: "Me so big naughty heart; me heart all one stone." "Savory expressions," continues Williams, in his account of the interview, "and such as are used to breathe from compunct and broken hearts, and a sense of inward hardness and unbrokenness. I had many discourses with him in life; but this was the sum of our last parting, until our general meeting."†

What became of the son of Wequash is not known; but he left a younger brother, named Cushawashet, who adopted his name, and was for some time known as Wequash Cook. Both Wequash and Cushawashet were sons of Momojoshuck, the earliest grand sachem of the Nehantics whose name has descended to our times. Cushawashet, however, was not of pure royal blood, and the

* That this was his name appears by the testimony of the wife of Wequash, (dated July 13th, 1649, old style,) concerning some land affairs, preserved in the volumes of papers on Towns and Lands, Vol. VII.

† Roger Williams' Key. Mass. Hist. Coll, Vol. III, p. 206. Winthrop, Vol. II, p. 74.

same was probably true of Wequash; for, on the death of Momojoshuck, his brother Yanemo, or Ninigret, succeeded him in the sachemship, while his two sons never became the heads of any considerable community. As Wequash was sometimes called a Pequot, and as Cushawashet was always more closely connected with the Pequots than with the Nehantics, it seems probable that their mother was a woman of the Pequot race. Cushawashet, though for some time called Wequash Cook,* finally adopted the English cognomen of Hermon Garret, under which name we shall hereafter become better acquainted with him.†

Having disposed of matters of inferior importance, it is now time to look about for our old and crafty acquaintance, Uncas. After the overthrow of the Pequots, this sachem laid claim to the sovereignty of their country on the ground of his connection with the royal family of the tribe. He readily gave up that district along the seacoast which the English had seized, but the remainder he considered as justly and undeniably his own. He thus came into possession of all the northern part of New London County, together with the southern portions of the counties of Tolland and Windham. The former tributaries of the Pequots, however, now considered themselves independent; and those of them who submitted to Uncas, either at the present or any future time, were mostly, if not all, brought to submit by force. His tribe was vastly increased, perhaps doubled, by the one hundred Pequots, who had been given him at the treaty of 1638. Some refugees had joined him from the conquered tribe before

* Wequashcuk, originally, it is probable.

† Hazard, Vol. II, p. 464. Rhode Island Hist. Coll. Vol. III, pp. 64, 65.

that event, and others had attached themselves to him since. It was natural that the Pequots, rather than fly from their country, or become slaves to the English, or join their ancient foes, the Narragansetts, should choose to identify themselves with a fragment of their own tribe, even though that fragment had been rebellious and hostile. Wanderers from other nations, too, collected around Uncas, and increased the numbers and influence of the Mohegans. Among these warlike and unsettled communities, wherever a sachem distinguished himself by his abilities and success, he was sure to attract many adventurers from the neighboring tribes. Some came out of a desire for protection, some from a wish to distinguish themselves under so fortunate a leader, and some, doubtless, because they were forced to come by the sachem himself in his efforts to increase the number of his followers. Uncas considerably extended his territories by marrying the daughter of the Hammonassett sachem, Sebequanash; thus coming into possession of the seashore as far east as the Aigicomock, or East River, in Guilford. In 1641, indeed, he sold, [December 27th,] for a small consideration, nearly the whole of the tract to the people of Guilford;* but, as most of the Hammonassetts probably passed over to the east side of the Connecticut, his effective strength in warriors was very likely increased, rather than diminished, by this transaction.

Uncas had another source of influence in the consideration which his late services brought him among the English. His faithfulness during the Pequot war was repaid by the colonists with their favor, when it could be granted

* Guilford Records.

with justice, and sometimes, perhaps, when it could only be granted with injustice. But, aside from gratitude, the colonists were not insensible of the advantages which would accrue to them from having always at their command so active and influential a native chieftain. In war he would be useful as an ally, and in peace he could act as a spy upon the proceedings of his fellow sachems. Such an ally and such a spy Uncas was willing to be, as long as it would increase his power and gratify his rapacity.

The first transaction of importance between Uncas and Connecticut, after the treaty of 1638, was an agreement drawn up and signed on the 8th of October, 1640. The nature of this agreement was ambiguous; and it was, many years afterwards, made one ground of a tedious, fluctuating and expensive law suit between the Mohegans and the colony. The colonial authorities, and all who were interested in their success, affirmed that it was a true deed of purchase and sale. The Indians and their supporters declared that it was a mere right of pre-emption, by which Uncas interdicted himself from parting with his land to any but the colony, or the settlers, of Connecticut. Which was the most reasonable of these two opinions, may be judged from the value of the gift which was made to the sachem when the deed was obtained: "five yards of cloth and a few pairs of stockings." In return for this insignificant present, hardly worth a dozen beaver skins, Uncas is said to have parted with his whole country, except that on which the Mohegans were then planting.* There are some circumstances, however, it must

* See the paper itself in the Appendix, Article V.

be confessed, which tend to favor this conclusion. Uncas, at this time, had only held his country two years, and had barely ceased to be considered a tributary of the Pequots. He had besides been subdued in war by Sassacus, and had thus, according to Indian custom, forfeited his lands to his conquerors, as well as to whoever should conquer them.

This affair, however, gave no trouble to Uncas, during whose life-time the English never urged their pretended right to the Mohegan territory; and, for the present, his power and influence went on increasing in such a manner as to awaken the envy and fear of all the surrounding chieftains. The Narragansetts hated him as a Pequot; they had cause, also, to hate on his own account; and now their hatred was increased by seeing him become a formidable rival. Jealousy and ancient enmity made him likewise an object of bitter dislike to the kinsman and ally of the Narragansetts, Sequassen, the sachem of the Connecticut River. This chieftain had doubtless strong hopes, on the overthrow of the Pequots, that he should recover his ancient influence, and perhaps become even more powerful than before. But the sudden rise of Uncas blighted all these expectations, and ever afterwards he hated him with all the rancor of disappointed ambition. The events which followed, render the supposition probable, not only that Sequassen and the Narragansetts were acquainted with each other's sentiments towards the Mohegan chief, but that they had formed a conspiracy to overthrow and destroy him. Uncas, on the contrary, strove to defend himself and to injure his enemies, by spreading unfavorable reports of their feelings and designs

with regard to the English. "Miantinomo," the Mohegans would say, "wants to make himself sachem of all the Indians in New England. Miantinomo is trying to bring all the Indians into a great conspiracy against the white men."

These reports produced so much suspicion in the magistrates, that in November, 1640, they summoned the Narragansett chief to Boston. He obeyed immediately, thus at once producing a strong impression in his favor. When questioned, he was deliberate in his answers; would never speak except when some of his councilors were present that they might be witnesses; showed much ingenuity in his observations, and a good perception of what was wise and equitable in policy. He offered to prove that Uncas and the Mohegans alone had raised the reports against him; asked that his accusers might be brought before him, face to face; and demanded that, if unable to prove their charges, they should be put to death. His dignity, his frankness, and the justness of his remarks, silenced the complaints of the magistrates; they acquitted him of all suspicion of conspiracy, and he departed from Boston in peace.*

This affair doubtless increased his hatred of Uncas; and, not long after, an event occurred which was said to be an effect of that hatred. One evening, as Uncas was passing from one wigwam in his fort to another, an arrow, discharged by some unseen marksman, pierced his arm. He reached the cabin to whitch he was going, without further injury, and, entering it, was safe. The wound was slight and soon healed. The perpetrator of this at-

* Winthrop, Vol. II, pp. 80—83.

tempted assassination was unknown; but a young Pequot, one of Uncas' subjects, being observed to have a large quantity of wampum, fell under suspicion. He was interrogated, and, as he could give no reasonable explanation of how he came by so much property, the suspicions against him were increased. Observing this, he stole away out of the village, fled over to the Narragansett country, and took refuge with Miantinomo. Uncas laid the matter before the magistrates of Massachusetts; charging Miantinomo with being the instigator of the attack on him; and the Narragansett sachem once more felt himself compelled to go to Boston. He carried the Pequot with him, and the young man was examined by the magistrates in the chieftain's presence. He told a most extraordinary story; how he was staying, at one time, in Uncas' fort; how Uncas engaged him to tell the English that he had been hired by Miantinomo to kill Uncas, and how Uncas then took the flint of his gun and cut his own arm on two sides, so as to make it appear as if it had been pierced by an arrow. This tale, improbable in itself, and unpleasing to the colonists, who already distrusted the Narragansetts, as well as favored the Mohegans, not only did not clear the culprit, but brought Miantinomo under deep suspicion. It seemed as if the story had been concocted between the sachem and his tool, for throwing off the guilt of a conspiracy from their own shoulders, and laying it on the intended victim of that conspiracy, who had barely escaped from it with his life. The magistrates expressed themselves convinced of the Pequot's guilt, and declared that he ought to be delivered over to the vengeance of the Mohegan sachem. Miantinomo ob-

jected, arguing that the man was under his protection; but finally promised that, if he might only carry him back to his own country, he would then surrender him to Uncas. His earnest request was granted; he was allowed to depart with the prisoner; but on the way home he had him murdered by his own followers. This action deepened, with good reason, the suspicions already excited against him, as it was immediately concluded that he had put his accomplice to death to prevent his own guilt from being completely exposed. Other motives, indeed, may be imagined. He was doubtless unwilling to gratify a hated rival by surrendering to him a man who had once sought his protection; and he may have feared that Uncas would make use of the unscrupulous Pequot for the purpose of bringing still deeper and more dangerous accusations against himself and the Narragansetts. The darkest and most natural inference, however, prevailed, and this act of violence and bad faith afterwards cost Miantinōmo dear.*

Sequassen now began to play his part against the Mohegans and their sachem. Some of his warriors assassinated a leading Mohegan, and others way-laid Uncas himself, and shot arrows at him as he was sailing in a canoe down the Connecticut. Uncas complained of these provocations to the magistrates at Hartford, and Governor Haynes, having summoned the two sachems, attempted to effect a reconciliation between them. Uncas said that the Mohegan who had been murdered was a man of consequence, and that he must have six of Sequassen's warriors to put to death in revenge. Haynes labored hard to

* Hazard, Vol. II, p. 8.

reduce this extravagant demand, so contrary to English ideas of justice, and with difficulty persuaded Uncas to accept of one individual who was acknowledged to be the murderer. But the murderer was likewise a man of consequence, and he was moreover a relation and a great favorite of Miantinŏmo. Sequassen therefore would not surrender him; said that he would defend him by force of arms; and expressed his reliance upon the Narragansett sachem for assistance. The magistrates, finding an agreement impracticable, dismissed the two sachems, and gave Uncas liberty to avenge his own wrongs. He did so; he invaded Sequassen's country; defeated him, killing seven or eight of his warriors, and wounding thirteen; burned his wigwams, and carried away a quantity of plunder.*

This was soon known in the country of the Narragangansetts, and Miantinŏmo began to think of war and revenge. He sent a message to Governor Haynes, complaining that Uncas had injured his relation, Sequassen, and his allies, the Indians of Connecticut River. Haynes replied that the English had no hand in the affair, and did not mean to uphold or encourage Uncas in such conduct as he described. The Narragansett chief also gave notice of what the Mohegans had done, to Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts; and asked, in particular, with much earnestness, whether the people of the Bay would be offended with him if he should make war upon Uncas. The reply of Winthrop was still more satisfactory than that of Haynes; for he informed Miantinŏmo that, if Uncas had done him or his friends any wrong, and refused

* Winthrop, Vol. II, p. 130. Hazard, Vol. II, p. 9.

to grant satisfaction, the English would leave him to choose his own course.* Doubtless the representations which Miantinomo made, to both Haynes and Winthrop, were considerably exaggerated; but these gentlemen, it seems, did not consider the matter worthy of investigation, and the Narragansett sachem had now fulfilled the treaty of 1638, by submitting his complaints to the English before he appealed to arms. He immediately, therefore, set about avenging his own and his kinsman's quarrel, with more promptness and energy, indeed, than good fortune. Collecting a large band of Narragansett warriors, he advanced rapidly and unexpectedly into the country of his rival.

On a sudden, the Mohegan watchers on the hills of Norwich beheld the Narragansetts emerge from the woods, and cross the river Shetucket, at a fording place a little above its junction with the Quinnibaug. The runners immediately dashed off, some to carry the startling intelligence to their sachem, some to alarm and collect their scattered warriors. Uncas had a fort on the banks of the Thames, about five miles below the site of the present city of Norwich; and here, probably, the messengers of danger found him. The Mohegans came pouring in on all sides from their villages and scattered wigwams, and he was soon able to advance towards the enemy with nearly the whole force of his tribe. The chroniclers of those times say that he had four or five hundred warriors, and that the invaders amounted to nine hundred or a thousand. These estimates, depending as they must have done entirely on the reports of the Indians, are undoubt-

* Winthrop, Vol. II, p. 129.

edly exaggerated; and, if we rate the Mohegans at three hundred, and their adversaries at twice that number, we shall go as high, I suspect, as probability will warrant.

Uncas moved forward three or four miles, until he came to a spot situated in the present township of Norwich, and now known as the Great Plain. Here he halted his men on a small rising ground, and explained to them a stratagem by which he hoped to make up for his inferiority in numbers. The Narragansetts, in the meantime, had crossed the fords of the Yantic, and soon appeared descending in loose array the declivity opposite to the Mohegans. Uncas now sent forward a messenger to ask an interview with Miantinŏmo. It was granted, and the two sachems shortly met each other in a narrow space between the armies. On both sides, the warriors, standing within bow-shot of each other, remained spectators. The Narragansetts were waiting unsuspiciously the result of the conference: the Mohegans were watching anxiously for the preconcerted signal from their sachem. Uncas addressed Miantinŏmo on the folly of mutually wasting the lives of their brave warriors in a contest which could as well be decided by themselves alone. "Let us fight it out," he concluded; "if you kill me, my men shall be yours; if I kill you, your men shall be mine."

Miantinŏmo was a tall and strong man, nor is it likely that he was so deficient in personal courage as to reject Uncas' proposition through fear. But he was confident in the superior numbers of his followers, and was resolved not to throw away what seemed to be a certainty, for what was clearly an uncertainty. "My men came to fight," said he, "and they shall fight."

Uncas had expected this answer, and now the time had come for his stratagem. He threw himself suddenly upon the ground; his men recognized the signal; and, drawing their ready-bent bows, they poured a shower of arrows among the astonished Narragansetts. Uncas sprang up, and his warriors, pealing forth the yell of battle, and brandishing their tomahawks, rushed forward with him upon the staggering enemy. The Narragansetts, panic struck at this sudden assault, made hardly an attempt at resistance, and speedily took to flight. The Mohegans pursued them with impetuous fury, drove them through the shallows of the river, and continued the chase into the forests beyond. All over that rude and hilly country the pursuers and pursued might be seen, leaping over rocks and dashing through thickets, like wolves in chase of timid deer. Miantinomo fled with his followers, but his flight was impeded by an English corselet which he had put on to protect him in battle. Two of the Mohegan captains followed him closely, and still further prevented his escape by springing against him and jostling him as he ran. They might have taken or killed him with their own hands, but this honor they were willing to reserve to their sachem. The first of these men who reached the flying chieftain was a sagamore, named Tantaquigeon,* whose descendants were long held noble among the Mohegans, and have scarcely yet ceased to boast of this exploit of their ancestor.† Uncas, a robust and powerful man, finally came up and seized Miantinomo by the shoulder. The ill-fated sachem, as soon as he felt

* Appendix to Savage's Winthrop, Vol. II, p. 381.

† History of Norwich, p. 18.

the hand of his enemy upon him, ceased his flight and sat down upon the ground. His heart must indeed have been swelled with grief and shame; but from those closed lips came no word to indicate its misery. Thirty of the Narragansetts had been slain, and, undoubtedly, many more wounded; the rest, without an effort to wipe out their disgrace, or to rescue their captive sachem, retreated to their own country.

Miantinōmo still continued silent, although some of his warriors were brought up and tomahawked before his eyes. Uncas was disappointed at not being able to extract from him a single confession of weakness or fear. "Why do you not speak?" said he. "If you had taken me I should have besought you for my life." But the captive made no answer.

He was carried in triumph to the Mohegan fortress, but his life was not taken, and he was even treated with some degree of kindness and respect.* It would appear, also, that a truce was opened between the tribes, which continued as long as the fate of Miantinōmo remained in suspense. The Narragansetts sent their sachem several packages of wampum during his captivity, which he gave away, some to Uncas, some to Uncas' wife, and some to his principal councilors. He made these presents, as the Mohegans and their supporters affirmed, partly by way of thanks for his courteous treatment, and partly to persuade Uncas to put him into the hands of the English and refer his fate to their decision. The Narragansetts asserted that the wampum was given as a ransom, and they sub-

* The above account is from the History of Norwich, Chapter II, compared with Winthrop, Vol. II, p. 131, and Hazard, Vol. II, p. 9.

sequently made it a strong ground of accusation against the Mohegan sachem.*

The news of Miantinōmo's capture excited a deep interest among the English of Rhode Island. Many of them were men who had been driven from Massachusetts on account of their religious opinions, and had found a refuge and a home in the country of the Narragansetts. The generous and dignified character of the captive sachem had won their good will; and, from always hearing the Narragansett side of the story, they believed that he was in the right and his enemies in the wrong. Samuel Gorton, a wild-headed but kind-hearted enthusiast who had settled at Warwick, is said to have written Uncas a letter, commanding him to set Miantinōmo at liberty, and threatening him with the English power if he refused. The epistle reached Uncas, and, being explained to him by the messenger, gave him not a little perplexity. He was by no means willing to set his captive free; but he did not dare, on his own authority, to put him to death, and he had reason to fear that he should not be able to keep him safe as a prisoner. In this uncertainty he concluded to refer the matter to his old friends, the English of Connecticut. He carried Miantinōmo to Hartford, represented the case to the Governor and Council, and begged them to show him the path in which he should walk. The magistrates replied that, as there was no open war between their government and the Narragansetts, it was not prudent for them to interfere, but they would advise him to wait for the first meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, which

* Hazard, Vol. II, *passim*.

would take place in the following September, and refer the matter to their decision.*

Miantinomo, finding himself in Hartford, begged earnestly that he might be kept there in the custody of the English magistrates. He doubtless expected that the English would at least preserve his life, and feared that, if Uncas got him back to Mohegan, he might resolve to make sure of his fate by putting him to death. The magistrates were willing, and Uncas consented on condition that Miantinomo should still be considered as his prisoner.†

The first Court of Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, met at Boston on the seventeenth of September, 1643. It consisted of John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley from Massachusetts, Edward Winslow and William Collier from Plymouth, George Fenwick and Edward Hopkins from Connecticut, and Theophilus Eaton and Thomas Gregson from New Haven. The first object of the commissioners was to ratify the agreement, and approve of the articles of confederation, which had been drawn up in the previous May. They then proceeded to examine the case of the Narragansett sachem. Prepossessed in favor of Uncas on account of his obsequiousness to the English, fearful of Miantinomo's power, and perhaps of his independent spirit, they yet hesitated in their judgment, and at first decided that, while it would not be safe to liberate the captive, there was still no suffi-

* Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 7, 8. Winthrop, Vol. II, p. 131. It is pretty certain that Gorton wrote a letter to Uncas, but somewhat doubtful whether he used any threats. Winthrop at first stated that he did, but afterwards erased the passage as if he had found that the assertion was incorrect.

† Winthrop, Vol. II, p. 131.

cient cause to put him to death. In this uncertainty it was determined to refer the case to the clergy, a general convocation of whom was then held in Boston, as many as fifty being assembled there from all parts of New England. For some reason, however, only five of this number were selected, to give their voices on this important question: these were called in, the whole affair was laid before them, and they were asked for their opinion. What is our astonishment to find that these reverend and, as it is to be hoped, pious gentlemen, came to that stern decision at which laymen and public magistrates had faltered! Miantinomo, they said, ought to die.*

The Commissioners, having all their doubts removed by the verdict of the ministers, decided that the unfortunate sachem was worthy of death, and that Uncas might justly kill him, since his own life would be in constant danger, either by treachery or open force, as long as such a false and blood-thirsty enemy lived. It was clearly discovered, they said, that there was a general conspiracy among the Indians against the colonies, and that the prisoner was at the head of it. His disposition, too, was proud, turbulent and restless. He had broken his promise of surrendering the Pequot who attempted to take Uncas' life. Finally he beat one of the men of Pomham, a sachem who had submitted to the English, took away his wampum and bade him complain, if he would, at the Massachusetts. In short, he had forfeited his life by the Indian customs, and by the fashions of all countries.†

* Winthrop, Vol. II, p. 131.

† Hazard, Vol. II, p. 9. Winthrop, Vol. II, pp. 133, 134.

Such were the pretences, some false, some unjust, some frivolous, by which the Commissioners vindicated their course in the condemnation of a free and independent sachem: false, because it had *not* been clearly discovered that there was a general conspiracy among the Indians, and because the innocence of Miantinŏmo on that point had already been acknowledged; unjust, because nothing could well be more so than to send men out of this world for being proud, turbulent and restless; frivolous, because the charges concerning Pomham and his man were altogether too trifling to have any weight in a question of life and death. As to the assertion that he had forfeited his life by Indian customs and by the fashions of all countries, the first part is true, but the second is as clearly false. It is not, at least, the fashion of civilized countries, to keep prisoners of war alive for weeks, and then bring them in cool blood to execution.

The Commissioners decided that Uncas and some of his best men should be summoned to Hartford; that Miantinŏmo should there be surrendered into his hands; that he should be put to death without the limits of the English settlements; and that some of the colonists should witness the execution, "for the more full satisfaction of the commissioners." If Uncas refused to kill the prisoner, he was not to be surrendered to him, but to be sent to Boston by sea, and there detained until the Court could decide further as to his fate. But, if Uncas carried the sentence into effect, he was to be taken under English protection, and it was to be the especial duty of Connecticut to defend him against all enemies whom he might thus create. Plymouth was to restore Massasoit,

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THE DEATH OF M'ANTIMOMO

the sachem of the Pokanokets, to a perfect freedom from all the encroachments which had been made upon him by the Narragansetts. Massachusetts was to give the Narragansetts notice that Uncas acted under the authority of the English, and would be defended by them against all assailants.

The decision was kept secret until it was known that the Connecticut and New Haven Commissioners had reached home. It was feared that, if the Narragansetts should know what was to be done, they would intercept these gentlemen, and thus obtain hostages by whom to ransom their sachem. Such a design had indeed been agitated among them, as the frank and noble minded Miantinōmo himself gave notice to Governor Haynes.

As soon as Eaton and his friends were in safety, Uncas was ordered to repair to Hartford, at the head of a sufficient number of his followers. He came, attended by his brother, Wawequa, and a select band of warriors. The decision of the Commissioners was made known to him: a decision, doubtless, after his own heart; and he offered not the least objection to carrying it into execution. His captive was then delivered into his hands, and two Englishmen were designated to go with him and witness the murder. They left Hartford, and traveled on through the forests until they came to the plain where the battle had been fought and the prize taken. Wawequa was walking close behind Miantinōmo, who was still, perhaps, uncertain what would be his fate. Uncas gave a signal, and Wawequa, silently raising his tomahawk, sunk it with a heavy blow into the head of the unsuspecting prisoner. Uncas cut a large piece from the

shoulder and ate it with savage exultation. "It is the sweetest meat I ever ate," said the barbarian. "It makes my heart strong."*

Miantinŏmo was buried on the site both of his defeat and his death, and the spot afterwards received, from the English settlers, the name, which it still retains, of the Sachem's Plain. A heap of stones was raised over the grave, and, for a long time afterwards, every Narragansett who passed that way added one or more to the pile. During many subsequent years, parties of this tribe used to visit the spot every September, in spite of the almost continual hostility which existed between them and the Mohegans. On reaching the rude monument they would break forth into lamentations, and then throwing new stones upon the heap, would consecrate them with mournful cries and frantic gestures. The mound remained standing for many years, but was finally torn down by the economical owner of the land, who wished to use the stones in the foundation of a new barn.†

Such was the end of Miantinŏmo; a sachem who seems to have been respected and loved by every one who was not fearful of his power. There can be no doubt that his death was perfectly in accordance with Indian customs; yet, for the sake of the memory of our ancestors, I wish that it had not happened through their influence. Had Uncas killed and scalped him on the field of battle, or had he tortured him to death in cool blood on his own

* See Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 11—13, and Winthrop, Vol. II, p. 134. Winthrop indeed says that he was killed between Windsor and Hartford; but Trumbull, on the authority of some private manuscripts, places the scene of his murder in Norwich, and his account is confirmed by tradition.

† History of Norwich, p. 20.

responsibility, no one could have had any occasion for surprise. It would have been no more than Miantinomo would probably have done to Uncas, and no more than all the Indian tribes were in the constant habit of doing to their captive enemies. The English committed a great error in receiving the prisoner into their hands, and from this error they went on until the result was an act highly unjust and deliberately cruel. Even after receiving him, they might have returned him, and have left Uncas to act as he pleased, on condition that he should take upon himself all the consequences. But we have seen that the Commissioners resolved to return him to the Mohegans only if the latter would put him to death, and that they pledged themselves to support the executioners against all who should call their conduct in question. The real causes of the sachem's execution seem to have been, fear of his power, jealousy that he was inimical to the colonies, and, perhaps, also, the fact that he had favored the heretical settlement of Gorton and his company at Pautuxet.

According to the resolutions of the Commissioners, Governor Winthrop dispatched messengers to the Narragansetts. They charged them with having broken their faith with the English, and having combined with Miantinomo in his design to root out the colonies. They told them, also, that the English justified Uncas in what he had done, and were determined to protect him against whoever should offer to do him harm. As Canonicus, however, and Mascus, the deceased father of Miantinomo, had always guided the tribe in a peaceable way, the Commissioners were willing to ascribe the late tumults to the proud and unquiet spirit of the deceased sachem. They

therefore offered the Narragansetts peace with the English, and with Uncas, and Massasoit, and all the other allies of the English.*

The Narragansetts could do no better for the present, than receive this unpalatable message with a good grace, and remain in quiet. We shall see, however, before long, that neither messages nor treaties were sufficient to overcome their hatred of the Mohegans, or restrain their burning desire of revenge.

* Hazard, Vol. II, p. 12.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE EXECUTION OF MIANTINOMO TO THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEQUOTS.

The Indians in this early period loitered, during much of their time, around the villages of the whites, and gave the settlers not a little annoyance. They frightened the women and children, by entering the houses without liberty, and sometimes caused lamentable accidents through their excessive eagerness to handle fire-arms. They were not perfectly honest, either, being very apt to steal whatever excited their longing, and more desirous of running in debt than of paying what they already owed. If a man trusted an Indian to any amount, he was pretty sure to lose both his debt and his customer; the latter very commonly transferring his valuable patronage to some other part of the country. To put a stop to these and other annoyances, penal laws were enacted, both by the colonial courts and by the assemblies of the towns. For handling weapons, an Indian was to pay a fine of half a fathom of wampum. If he wounded any one by his carelessness or ignorance, he was to defray the expense of curing the patient. If the injured person died, life was to be exacted for life.* Indians who came round the settlements by night might be summoned by the watch-

* See Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 52. June, 1640.

men to surrender, and, if they refused to obey, might be shot down without hesitation.* Laws like these were sometimes accompanied by a provision, that notices of them should be given to the neighboring sachems, so that they might warn and restrain their people.

In 1642, when there were suspicions of a conspiracy among the Indians, having its head at Tunxis, the General Court of Connecticut enacted, that no ordinary citizen should admit a native into his house. Magistrates only were excepted, who were allowed to receive a sachem, provided he came with not above two men.† A like order was passed in 1644, except that magistrates and traders were permitted to entertain sachems attended by four men. Uncas, however, was granted some superior privileges on account of his friendship for the colonists: he might come into the English houses with twenty followers, and his brother, Wawequa, might come with ten.‡ In 1647, Indians were forbidden to hire lands of the English, because, by this means, they mingled freely with the settlers, and corrupted the young men.§ There was, in fact, good reason for this caution, for the moral example of the natives was, beyond question, far more corrupting than beneficial. Dutch and French vessels were forbidden to trade with the Indians, within the jurisdiction of the colony, just as the Dutch and French colonial governments had forbidden foreigners to trade with the Indians in their territories.‖ These restrictions were laid, not so much to monopolize the trade of the abori-

* Colonial Records, Vol. I, pp. 46, 240. † Colonial Rec., Vol. I, p. 73.
‡ Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 106. § Col. Rec., Vol. I, p. 149.
‖ Colonial Records, Vol. I, pp. 197, 218.

gines, as to prevent them from becoming supplied with ammunition and fire-arms.

As the Indians complained of being cheated out of their territories, a law was passed [1663] interdicting private individuals from purchasing lands of them.* In 1650, an enactment was made, forbidding any person, under any circumstances, to buy wood of an Indian.† Such rules were not needless; some of the whites were dishonest and rapacious; all of the Indians were thoughtless and improvident.

Nothing operated with more injurious effect upon the natives than intoxicating liquors. The unnatural excitement which these produce was an agreeable stimulus to men whose avocations and pleasures were few, whose leisure hung heavily on their hands, and whose minds were most of the time dissolved in a tiresome vacuity. They drank them greedily whenever they could get them; and the race, as well as individuals, soon began to exhibit proofs of their deleterious influence. One law after another was passed, forbidding any person to furnish an Indian with such liquors under considerable penalties. In 1654, this penalty amounted to five pounds for every pint thus sold, and forty shillings for the least quantity.‡ Notwithstanding these laws the evil still went on increasing, as spirituous liquors grew more abundant, and could be obtained by the Indians at a less expense. Perhaps the evil was never greater than at the present day. Let us be careful, then, how we reproach our predecessors.

A war was now raging between the Dutch of New

* Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 402. † Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 214.
‡ Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 263.

Amsterdam and several of the neighboring tribes of Indians, which finally involved some of the clans of Connecticut. In 1642, some Dutch traders, having sagaciously contrived to get an Indian drunk, robbed him of his valuable dress of beaver skins. In vengeance for this injury the warrior killed two white men, and then fled for safety to a distant tribe. Governor Kieft demanded the murderer; refused to believe that he could not be found, and finally revenged himself by an act of barbarous cruelty. In the following winter, two tribes living on the Hudson were surprised by the Mohawks, seventy of their warriors were killed, and many prisoners were left in the hands of the enemy. Half dead with cold and hunger, the remnant, amounting to several hundred souls, fled for protection to the vicinity of New Amsterdam. Kieft at first kindly furnished them with corn; but the dark thought soon came into his mind that now he could revenge the insult which had lately been offered to his government. Some of his councilors agreed with him; a band of soldiers and colonists was dispatched on the horrid errand; the unsuspecting savages were surprised in their sleep, and more than a hundred of them were massacred in cold blood. The Indians living on the Hudson rose to revenge this cruel treachery, and were joined by the tribes of Long Island. A confederacy of eleven clans, numbering more than fifteen hundred warriors, was formed, and a fierce war blazed wherever a Dutch settlement was to be found; on Long Island and on Manhattan, along the Connecticut and along the Hudson. The Indians desolated the Connecticut coast as far east as Stamford, killing not only Dutch but Eng-

lish; for the English in this quarter were few in number, and had been compelled to submit to the government of New Amsterdam. The pretended prophetess, Anne Hutchinson, who had taken refuge here from her persecutors in Massachusetts, was among the victims. Until the last moment the Indians came to the house in their usual friendly manner; then the hatchet fell, and the ill-fated woman perished, with seventeen others, in the massacre. To close the scene, the horses and cattle were driven into the barns, the barns were set on fire, and the helpless animals were roasted to death in the flames. Great numbers of Indians were now living in this part of Connecticut, where they had formed several large villages or encampments. They were not, however, natives of the district, but had only retreated here from Long Island and the Hudson, so as to be less exposed to the expeditions of the Dutch.

Mayn Mayano, a sachem living between Stamford and Greenwich, distinguished himself by a feat of daring though unsuccessful courage. At a time when one European was considered a match for several natives, he had the audacity to attack with his bow and arrows three Dutch settlers armed with muskets. He killed one, and was engaged in conflict with another, when the third struck him down. Had he succeeded in his desperate enterprise, he would have gained a glorious name among his people, and would perhaps have been regarded as the greatest brave among all the tribes of his race.

Mayn Mayano's tribe having been as hostile as its sachem, an expedition was sent against it from New Amsterdam. The troops landed at Greenwich, and, relying

upon some information given them by Captain Daniel Patrick of that place, marched all night in search of the enemy's encampment. But the Indians had escaped, and the Dutch marched on to Stamford in an ill humor at their disappointment, and believing that they had been intentionally misdirected. One of them, meeting Patrick in that village, charged him with falsehood and treachery. The high-tempered Englishman angrily retorted, spit in his accuser's face, and turned on his heel to walk away. Enraged at the insult, the soldier drew a pistol and shot him dead.

Thus perished one of those captains who had led the troops of New England against the ill-fated Pequots. The deed was committed at the house of another, the famous John Underhill, who was likewise living at Greenwich under the authority of the Dutch. Both these men had been members of New England churches, but their conduct had little corresponded with their professions, and, unable to bear the restraints and frequent admonitions which met them in Massachusetts, they had retired to these lonely shores where ministers and church committees were few and far between.

Before the armament returned to Manhattan, twenty-five of the soldiers undertook a more successful expedition. By a forced march they surprised a small Indian village, killed eighteen or twenty of the inhabitants, and took the rest, an old man with some women and children, prisoners.

Underhill now joined the Dutch armies, was placed at the head of a small force, and did good service in an expedition to Long Island. On his return from this enter-

prise, he went to New Amsterdam, from whence he was immediately sent to obtain information concerning the hostile Indians in the vicinity of Stamford. He brought back word, that an encampment of five hundred of them had been discovered, and urgently advised that an immediate effort should be made to destroy it. One hundred and thirty men were instantly raised, [February, 1644,] and sent off for Greenwich, under the command of Underhill and Ensign Van Dyck. They landed that same evening at Stamford, but a heavy snow storm obliged them to remain nearly all night in the settlement. The weather having moderated towards morning, they set forward, and made a long, painful and fatiguing day's march. About eight in the evening they came to two rivers, one of them two hundred feet wide, and three feet deep. They were now near the enemy, but thought it best to halt awhile for the sake of resting the men and preparing for the approaching struggle. At ten o'clock they resumed their march and moved on easily, the sky being clear, and a full moon glancing over the brilliant surface of the snow. They soon came in sight of three long rows of wigwams, situated at the foot of an eminence which protected them from the northeast wind. This was the Indian village. Its inhabitants were on their guard, and soon showed that they had discovered the presence of their enemies. The Dutch, however. advanced with such celerity as to surround the village before its inmates could make their escape. The Indians charged gallantly, with the hope of breaking the lines; but twelve of them were taken prisoners, and the rest were driven back. A heavy fire of musketry was opened

by the white men, and, after a furious conflict of an hour, the Indians retreated to their wigwams, leaving one hundred and eighty of their number stretched on the trampled and crimsoned snow. Not one would venture out any longer; but they still maintained the conflict, from loopholes, with their bows and arrows. Underhill, following Mason's example at Fort Mystic, now gave orders to fire the village. The same result followed which had been witnessed in the attack on the Pequots; the Indians were driven out of their cabins by the fire, and were driven into them again by the Dutch sabres and musketry. They perished miserably, men, women and children; only eight escaping, and five hundred, as the Indians afterwards asserted, being destroyed by fire, lead and steel.

The soldiers kindled large fires, and encamped for the remainder of the night on the field of battle. The next morning they set out on their return, and, "the Lord enduing the wounded with extraordinary strength," they reached the English settlement of Stamford about noon. Public thanksgivings were ordered at New Amsterdam for this great success; and the Dutch chroniclers expressed their gratitude for the victory in the same devout strain with which the New England writers recorded the similar triumph on the banks of the Mystic. They remarked it, for instance, as a particular providence, that, when the attack was made on the village, "the Lord had collected most of their enemies there to celebrate some peculiar festival."

This terrific slaughter put an end to the war, as the carnage at Fort Mystic had virtually ended the contest between the English and the Pequots. Not very long

after the Dutch victory, the Indians begged the intervention of Underhill, whom they seem to have considered the leading spirit among their adversaries, and, having obtained it, very soon [April, 1644,] consented to a peace.*

During this violent and sometimes prosperous struggle with the Dutch colonists of New Netherland, it was not surprising that the Indians of this vicinity should occasionally manifest insolence towards the English colonists of Connecticut. In the summer or fall of 1644, one of them, named Ashquash, murdered, between Fairfield and Stamford, an English servant who was running away from his master in Massachusetts. The fact being revealed, about six weeks after, by an Indian, the settlers applied to the sachem of Ashquash's tribe for satisfaction. He promised to surrender the murderer, and actually kept his pledge so far as to have him brought within sight of Fairfield. Some English were already coming out to receive him, when the Indians, beginning to pity their doomed comrade, unbound him and let him go. The settlers were enraged, and seizing eight or nine of the natives, carried them into the village and kept them confined there several days. Four sagamores then appearing, and promising to surrender the culprit within a month, the prisoners were released.†

Not long after this agreement was made, an Indian came into a house at Stamford, in broad day, and attack-

* The above events are taken almost entirely from O'Callaghan's History of New Netherlands, Book III, Chapters III, IV and V. Trumbull tells of the war continuing till 1646, and of a great battle being fought that year at Strickland's Plain in Horseneck; but this is a mistake, for peace was concluded two years before.

† Hazard, Vol. II, p. 23.

ing a woman who was there alone with her infant, left her on the floor for dead, plundered the house and went away. The settlers were alarmed and provoked at these repeated outrages, and demanded a conference of the natives for the purpose of obtaining reparation. The Indians refused to appear; left their corn unweeded; fired off muskets in the vicinity; and showed themselves in a tumultuous and threatening manner about the settlement. Some of their number told the villagers that their people were intending to attack them. The settlers sent messages to Hartford and New Haven for assistance, and, at some of the plantations in this vicinity, a guard was kept up both night and day. Soldiers were raised at New Haven, and dispatched to the threatened district; and a new demand was made for the surrender of Ashquash. The woman who had been attacked finally recovered from her wounds, though her reason was gone forever. She was able, however, to describe the person and dress of her assailant, so that the townsmen were enabled to recognize in him a fellow named Busheag. With a great deal of difficulty the Indians were persuaded to surrender him; he was carried to New Haven, tried for his crime, convicted and sentenced to decapitation. Busheag sat erect and motionless, while the unskillful executioner mangled him with eight blows upon the neck, before he could detach the head from the body. This execution seems to have satisfied both parties; the Indians became tranquil, and the English do not appear to have made any further demands for the murderer of the servant.*

* Hazard, Vol. II, p. 23. We find indeed certain recommendations, [Hazard, Vol. II, p. 128,] but no proof that they were followed by action.

During this time, the Narragansetts had by no means remained quiet under the loss of their sachem, but were continually harassing the Mohegans with their war parties. Miantinomo's authority was inherited, at least to some degree, by his brother, a young man of about twenty, named Pessicus. Within a month after the death of Miantinomo, and also in the following March, Pessicus sent presents to Boston, with messages that he wished peace with the English, but was resolved to make war upon Uncas. His presents were refused; unfriendly answers were returned to his communications; and he was told that the English would stand by Uncas whenever he should be attacked. These replies, however, produced little effect, for threats alone could not restrain the hatred and desire of vengeance which burned in the bosoms of the Narragansetts. Twelve or fourteen Englishmen, sent by Hartford to protect Uncas, probably had enough and more than enough to do, all summer, in keeping watch, and running about from this point to that, to chase away the intruders. Things finally became so troublesome, that the Commissioners determined, [September, 1644,] that both parties should be summoned to Hartford, and plead their cause before the Court. Nathaniel Willet and the interpreter, Thomas Stanton, delivered the summons first to Uncas, and afterwards to the Narragansetts. Both tribes were ordered to remain at peace until the decision of the case, and to promise not to intercept each other's deputies on the journey to and from Hartford. The sachems of the Narragansetts consulted with Ninigret, and then sent one of their own number, Weetowisse, and three councilors, to make their accusation against Uncas. The

Mohegan sachem made his appearance in person. The Narragansett deputies came, and the cause was opened. The Narragansetts spoke first. They said that, while Miantinomo was a prisoner, a sum of wampum had been agreed on between themselves and the Mohegans for his ransom; that some portions of this ransom had actually been paid; and that Uncas, therefore, had acted faithlessly in putting his prisoner to death*

Uncas flatly denied that any such ransom had been agreed upon; asserted that the wampum sent was so inconsiderable in amount as to be totally inadequate for such a purpose; and that it had moreover been given away by Miantinomo in presents, either for the sake of obtaining favors, or in return for favors received.†

The Commissioners investigated the case, doubtless, with a strong desire to find Uncas innocent, and finally decided, apparently, too, with justice, that the Narragansetts had not yet been able to substantiate their charge. They told the deputies that, if Uncas had been found guilty, he should have been compelled to give satisfaction, and that the colonies would still oblige him to do so whenever the Narragansetts should be able to prove the truth of their accusations. They then cautioned them that neither their tribe nor the Nehantics must attack Uncas, under peril of the English hostility, until they were able to satisfy the Court that he was guilty of the crime alleged. The deputies consulted together, and, actuated, doubtless, by fear of the power of the colonies, as well as intimidated by the presence and the demands of the Commissioners, they consented to a temporary

* Hazard, Vol. II, p. 25. † Ibid.

cessation of the war. They promised not to attack Uncas till after the next planting time, and not even then without giving thirty days notice to the Governor of Massachusetts. Neither would they use any means to bring the Mohawks against him during the truce, and if any of the Nehantic Pequots attacked him, they would deliver them up to be punished. The treaty to this effect was subscribed, [September, 29th, 1644,] on the part of the colonies, by the eight Commissioners; on the part of the Narragansetts by Weetowisse, sachem, and Pawpiamet, Chimough and Pummumshe, councilors.*

But either the Narragansetts did not consider themselves bound by this agreement of their deputies, (who perhaps had no power to conclude such a peace,) or their bitter hatred of the Mohegans would not suffer them to abide by it. They re-commenced hostilities almost as soon as they had signed the treaty, and their war parties again swept over the territories of Uncas. In the spring of 1645, without giving the promised notice to Massachusetts, a large force of their warriors poured into the Mohegan country, under the command of Pessicus. They destroyed every wigwam and plantation in their progress, drove the Mohegans before them, and forced Uncas to take refuge in one of his forts. This stood on Shantok Point, a rough promontory on the western bank of the Thames, nearly opposite to the place known as Pocquetannok. It contained a fine spring of water; the English allies of Uncas had assisted in fortifying it, and the Mohegans could easily defend it against a foe as unskillful and as poorly armed as themselves. The Narragansetts

* Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 25, 26.

had no hopes of taking it by force; but they seized the canoes in the river, spread themselves over the surrounding country, and attempted to reduce the besieged by famine. The English garrison from Hartford had gone, but Uncas succeeded in sending news of his situation to the fort at Saybrook. A Mohegan, creeping cautiously out by night, crawled undiscovered along the margin of the river, and made his way across the country to the mouth of the Connecticut. Saybrook was then commanded by John Mason, who entertained a kind and grateful remembrance of Uncas for his services during the Pequot war, and was willing to assist him in his present extremity. He did not indeed attempt to raise the siege by force; but he allowed one of his garrison, a young man named Thomas Leffingwell, to undertake the enterprise of introducing a supply of food into the beleaguered fortress. It is probable, although not certain, that Leffingwell was accompanied in his expedition by two other men named Thomas Tracy and Thomas Miner. A canoe capable of bearing twenty hundred weight was laden with provisions from the fort, and was then brought round to the mouth of the Pequot or Thames River. From there the adventurers, taking advantage of a dark night, paddled up to Shantok Point, ten miles or more, and succeeded in landing their cargo without being discovered by the besiegers. The Mohegans shouted with delight when they saw the beef, corn and peas which Leffingwell had brought, and gave notice of their relief to the enemy by elevating a large piece of the meat on a pole. When daylight came the Narragansetts saw it, and seeing, also, one or more Englishmen among the Mohegans,

they gave up the siege in despair and returned to their homes.*

Close on the heels of this invasion followed another, of several hundred warriors, thirty of whom were provided with fire-arms. They came silently and secretly, and by making a show of only forty men, they drew Uncas and his followers within their reach. The whole body then rose, poured in a shower of arrows and bullets, and pursued the Mohegans furiously to the walls of their forts. Four Mohegan sagamores and two common men were killed in this battle, and they had between thirty and forty wounded. A few Englishmen who were in the neighborhood shortly made their appearance, at sight of whom the Narragansetts retired. John Winthrop and Thomas Peeters, both among the early settlers of New London, went to Uncas' fort and dressed the wounds of the injured Mohegans. Uncas told them the story of the battle, and boasted that, if it were not for the guns of the Narragansetts, he would not care a rush for them. From the letter of Peeters, which preserves these particulars, we learn that, either at this time or some other, he cured Tantaquigeon, the sagamore who first overtook the flying Miantinomo. Some Narragansett warriors had found their way to his cabin, by night, and struck him on the breast, with a hatchet, as he lay on his couch. The brave warrior had notice enough of their presence to parry the blow in part, with his arm, and thus to save his life. The avengers of blood took to flight when they found themselves discovered, and Tantaquigeon escaped with only a wound.†

* Miss Caulkins's History of Norwich, pp. 23—26.

† Appendix to Savage's Winthrop, Vol. II, p. 381.

During the remainder of the season after this battle, a small force of English was kept constantly in the Mohegan country, either by Hartford or New Haven.

These repeated attacks upon Uncas excited the indignation of the colonists, whose honor and interest both called on them to defend him against his enemies. The subject was brought before the meeting of the Commissioners at Boston, in May, 1645. Messengers were appointed to go to Uncas and the Narragansett and Nehantic sachems, to invite them to lay their difficulties once more before the Court. They set off, attended by Benedict Arnold, an interpreter, intending to proceed, first to the Narragansett and Nehantic country, afterwards to that of the Mohegans. Pessicus received them with coolness, and finally with insolence; Ninigret with haughtiness and contemptuous derision. The messengers did not dare to proceed on their journey to Uncas, and returned to Boston filled with great indignation at the insolence of the savages. They brought a letter from Roger Williams, saying that war would soon break out, and that the Narragansetts, in anticipation of it, had concluded a separate treaty with Providence and the towns on Aquidnet, or Rhode Island. Provoked and alarmed, the Commissioners resolved on immediate hostilities, and arranged a plan for an energetic campaign. As the Connecticut and New Haven soldiers who formed the garrison at Mohegan were about to go home, forty men were immediately impressed, and dispatched in three days to supply their place. They were accompanied by four horses, and by two Massachusetts Indians who were to serve as guides. At Mohegan they were to be joined by forty men from

Connecticut and thirty from New Haven, and the whole body was to march, under the command of John Mason, against the Nehantics. The Nehantics were supposed to be the chief incendiaries in the present difficulties, and the Commissioners were anxious that they should feel the first smart of the punishment. From the side of Massachusetts, Major Edward Gibbons, at the head of one hundred and ninety men, was to invade the country of the Narragansetts.*

One more effort was made to bring the Indians to a peaceable accommodation. Two messengers were dispatched to Pessicus, to explain to him the pacific feelings of the Commissioners, and inform him of the preparations which were being made to attack him. When that sachem and his people found that an army four times as strong as the one which overthrew the Pequots was about to enter their country, their hearts failed them. They obtained a short delay of hostilities, during which Pessicus, with several other sachems, repaired to Boston. Appearing before the Commissioners' Court, they vainly attempted to defend themselves by renewing their old complaints about the bad faith of Uncas. They proposed a truce till the next planting time; a truce for a year; a truce for a year and a quarter; but all these propositions were rejected. One of them then placed a wand in the hands of the Commissioners, signifying that the terms lay with them. These terms were sufficiently hard. If the Narragansetts wish peace, said the Commissioners, they must pay the colonists two thousand fathoms of wampum, to indemnify them for the expenses which they

* Hazard, Vol. II. pp. 28—32.

have caused them; they must restore all the prisoners and canoes which they have taken from the Mohegans; and they must lay their difficulties with Uncas before the next meeting of the Court, and abide by its decision.

The wampum was to be paid, by four instalments, within twenty months; four sons of Pessicus, Ninigret and other principal chiefs were to be surrendered as hostages, within fourteen days; and, until they were surrendered, four of the sachems now present were to remain prisoners at Boston. Finally the Narragansetts and Nehantics were to pay, in fulfillment of the treaty of 1638, one fathom of white wampum, annually, for every Pequot man among them, half a fathom for every youth, and a hand-length for every child.

The sachems thought these terms very severe, and pleaded hard that some of them might be remitted. They obtained that Uncas, as well as themselves, should be obliged to restore prisoners and booty. Otherwise the Commissioners were inflexible; and the treaty was reluctantly signed [September 5th, 1645,] by Pessicus and five companions, Abdas, Pommush, Cutchamakins, Weekesanno, Wittowash, and the Nehantic deputy, Aumsaaquen. The colonial forces were immediately disbanded, and the day which had been appointed for a general fast was changed into a general thanksgiving.*

In 1646, Sequassen came into general notice through one of the most singular circumstances in the aboriginal history of Connecticut. This sachem, while he hated Uncas as his own successful rival, disliked the English as

* Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 40—44.

the friends and supporters of Uncas. He therefore formed a plan which, if successful in its operation, would enable him to be revenged upon both. He resolved to effect the murder of some of the principal colonists, and, by causing the name of the deed to fall upon the Mohegan sachem, embroil him with his powerful allies. The person he selected as his instrument was Watchibrok, a rascally Potatuck, whom he was said to have once before employed, in a similar way, to get rid of a hated sagamore. During the spring of 1646, Watchibrok and Sequassen were both visiting at Waranoak, now Westfield, in the southern part of Massachusetts, and while there lodged in the same wigwam. After some time Watchibrok proposed to go, but Sequassen persuaded him to stay longer, and went with him to a fishing place on the river. There they remained four days, when Watchibrok again proposed to leave, saying that he wished to visit some of his friends in other places. Sequassen told him, that, traveling in that way, alone, he ran a risk of being killed, and walked on with him to a spring, where they both stopped. Here the sachem opened the design, over which he was brooding, to his companion. He told him that, "if he ever wished to do Sequassen a kindness, now was the time. He was almost ruined, and the English of Connecticut were the cause of it. He wanted his friend Watchibrok, to go to Hartford and kill Governor Haynes, Governor Hopkins, and Mr. Whiting.* The two would then fly to the Mohawks with store of wampum, and on the way would give out that it was Uncas who murdered the white

* Hopkins and Haynes were both repeatedly Governors of the Colony; Whiting was a respectable citizen and a magistrate.

sachems. Thus the English would be set against Uncas, and Sequassen would have a chance to rise again."

The sachem drew out of his pouch three pieces of wampum and part of a girdle of the same material; these he gave to Watchibrok, and promised him a great deal more. The Potatuck did not show himself averse to the bargain, and left Sequassen with the understanding that the assassinations should be performed. On reflection, however, he began to consider that it would be a dangerous business to kill so many of the leading men among the English. He called to mind how Busheag, of Stamford, had been put to death at New Haven, for only attempting to murder an English squaw. He therefore concluded that it would be safe not to execute his part of the plot, and finally that it would be safer still, and perhaps more profitable, to reveal the whole to the white men. He came to Hartford and told the story to the magistrates. Sequassen soon heard of this, and sent a sixpence to Watchibrok, with a message to conceal as much as he could of the plot, and not lay it all open. The conscientious and excellent man, in great wrath, "bade the said sixpence hold his peace; he had discovered it and would hide nothing." Governor Haynes summoned the sachem to Hartford, to answer to this charge; but he refused to appear, and continued to remain at Waranoak. The affair was laid before the Commissioners, then sitting at New Haven, and they dispatched one Jonathan Gilbert to Waranoak, with a message for Sequassen and all who might be concerned in the plot with him. He was to encourage the sachem to come to New Haven and make his own defense, and was

authorized to promise him a safe and unrestricted passage to and fro. Gilbert went to Waranoak, but Sequassen could not be found, having either gone away, or secreted himself for fear of an arrest. A few days after, and while the Court was still in session, two sagamores, named Nepinsoit and Naimataique, came into New Haven, and stated before the Commissioners that they were friends of Sequassen, and had just been with him to Massachusetts Bay. They had carried a present, they said, to the governor there, who, although he would not then accept it, consented to give it house room. The governor advised them to attend the meeting of the Commissioners, and told them that, if Sequassen cleared himself, he would then decide what should be done with the present. They then came, with their friend, to New Haven, and had almost reached the town fence, when his heart failed him and he wished to go back. Each of them laid hold of one of his arms to urge him forward, but such was his fear, that he broke away from them and escaped. They added that their friend, having been a great sachem once, and now being poor, was ashamed to come in, because he had no present for the Commissioners. Some other Indians stated that Sequassen was still within a mile of the town, and that he would be glad to obtain peace in some other way than by an examination.* The homeless sachem at last sought shelter among the Pocomtocks, a considerable tribe which held the country about Deerfield in Massachusetts. The colonists requested the assistance of Uncas to secure him, and this chieftain readily undertook an enterprise which would at once gratify the English, and

* Hazard, Vol. II, pp 60, 61.

revenge himself on an ancient enemy. Some of his bold and dexterious warriors surprised Sequassen by night in his place of refuge, and brought him to Hartford, where he lay several weeks in prison. Nothing, however, was finally considered proved against him, and he was set at liberty.* He seems to have remained an exile, through fear of the colonists, or of Uncas, until 1650, when the Mohawks requested the government of Connecticut that, for the sake of their ancient and steady friendship towards the English, their friend Sequassen might be permitted to return home. The Court of Commissioners answered the message, stating that it had never forbidden Sequassen to return provided he behaved inoffensively; but, nevertheless, formally granting the request.† Such is the curious story of Sequassen's conspiracy. I have given it a place because the particulars which it relates are in accordance with the customs of the Indians, and thus give it an air of probability. On the other hand, it must be remembered, that these particulars rest almost wholly upon the evidence of Watchibrok, and that Watchibrok was unquestionably a liar and a villain.

In 1645 and 1646, the Wepawaugs, or Paugussets, of Milford, became dissatisfied, on account of various supposed grievances, and gave the settlers some alarm and a good deal of trouble. The good people of Milford kept up a daily and nightly guard, went armed to meeting on Sundays, and carried their muskets and cutlasses with them into the fields. Once the Indians set the neighboring country on fire, and the settlers had to hurry out and

* Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 60, 61. Winthrop, Vol. II, p. 333.
† Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 152, 153.

work with all their might to beat down the flames before they reached the town palisades. They succeeded in checking them at a large swamp north and west of the settlement; but the fire did much damage notwithstanding, destroying a large quantity of timber, and completely ruining several pieces of good natural meadow.*

The Mohawks were not so terrible now, to the Indians of this part of the colony, as they had been before the settlement of the English at Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, and other places along the coast. But they still came down occasionally, to exact tribute, or to kill, burn and lay waste wherever tribute was refused. To defend themselves against these destroyers, the Wepawaugs had erected two forts; one at Turkey Hill, now in Derby, and one on Indian Point, between East River and the Sound. In 1646 or 1648, a body of Mohawks came into the town, and hid themselves in a swamp half a mile east of Stratford Ferry, with the hope of surprising the fortress at the Point. Some of the settlers, discovering them by accident, informed the Wepawaugs, who soon collected so great a number of their warriors as to venture an attack upon the redoubtable invaders. For once, at least, they were successful; they defeated the Mohawks, killed some, and took a number prisoners. The victors stripped one of the captives, tied him hand and foot in the great meadows, and left him to be tormented by those clouds of musketoes with which the seashore is usually haunted. A settler, named Thomas Hine, finding the poor fellow in this condition, untied him, fed him, and enabled him to make his escape. For this deed of kindness the Mo-

* Lambert's History of New Haven Colony, p. 128.

hawks long regarded the family of Hine with great favor; and used to say that the Hines did not die like other pale faces, but went to the west, where the Great Spirit took them into his big wigwam and made them great men.*

Nothing further, of consequence, took place for several years among the Indians of this part of the colony, except a murder which was committed by some of them, at Stamford, in 1649. John Whitmore, a respectable inhabitant of that place, and a member of the General Court of New Haven colony, went into the woods one day, to look for his cattle, and never returned. Shortly after his disappearance, the son of a neighboring sagamore came into Stamford, and said Whitmore had been killed by one Toquattoes, and that the assassin had now, in his possession, some of the murdered man's clothes. A number of the settlers, accompanied by several Indians, repaired to the forest and made search for the body, but were unable to find it. Toquattoes, it was discovered, was not in the neighborhood. Some of the English began to suspect that the sagamore's son had committed the murder, and thrown the guilt of it upon one who was absent, and therefore unable to defend himself. It was only a suspicion, however, and, without making any attempt to arrest him, they suffered the matter to lie quiet for two or three months. At the end of that time, Uncas came to Stamford with a number of warriors; and, being informed of the murder, summoned the neighboring Indians together and interrogated them concerning it. He finally commanded them, with sternness, to show where the body

* Trumbull, Vol. I, pp. 162, 163. Barber's Hist. Coll. of Conn., Milford.

was concealed. The sagamore's son and one Rehoron, who was also suspected, immediately led the way into the forest; the Mohegans and some of the English followed, and the guides were observed to go straight to a place where the body was found. The Mohegans, seeing this, and that the men were both trembling with agitation, instantly charged them with being the murderers. No immediate effort, however, seems to have been made to apprehend them, and before any efficient steps were taken for this purpose, they fled, and made their escape. A representation of the circumstances was laid before the Court of the United Colonies. The Commissioners passed some resolutions on it, but they were never carried into effect, and the matter gradually died away. The trembling of the two men was no certain proof that they were guilty, for the Indians often trembled when sternly confronted by the dreaded race which was gradually supplanting them.*

It would be a matter of some interest, to know what had brought Uncas so far west as Stamford, when his own dominions never extended, in this direction, beyond the East River in Guilford. No record, however, of his object has been preserved, and we can only conjecture that he came to Stamford, as he had once sent his warriors to Pocomtock, for the sake of obliging his friends, the colonists.

We now return to the affairs of the eastern tribes. Uncas had become so confident of the favor of the English on all occasions, that he began to bring trouble upon himself by his restlessness and insolence. He oppressed

* Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 127, 128. Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 197.

the Pequots who were subject to him; he abused and plundered those who were not properly his subjects; he robbed one man of his wife; he robbed another man of his corn and beans; he embezzled wampum which he had been commissioned to deliver to the English; and he and his brother, Wawequa, took every opportunity of subjecting, or, at least, plundering, their neighbors. The colonists, however, did not encourage him in these acts of violence; and sometimes, as the records of those times show, administered to him sharp rebukes and even punishment.

At this time there were living on the seacoast of the ancient Pequot territory, one near the Thames, and one near the Paucatuc, two Indians, each of whom had collected a small band of Pequots about him, and exercised over them something of the authority of a petty sachem. One of these was a Pequot by birth, variously styled Robin, Cassasinamon, Cassinament, Casmamon, Robin Cassasinamon and Robin Cassinament. The other was Cushawashet, mentioned in the last chapter as the brother of Wequash and nephew of Ninigret, and more commonly known by the names of Wequash Cook and Hermon Garret. When the people of New London commenced their settlement, they found Cassasinamon, Obechiquod, and a number of other Pequots living on the ground, whom, after the original name of the place, they called Nameeg Indians. A friendly agreement was made with them, in accordance with which the Indians removed from the locality, and took up their residence at a suitable distance from the proposed settlement. In the intercourse between these Pequots and the settlers, Cassasinamon

seems to have become a sort of dependent or assistant of John Winthrop, the chief founder of New London, and accordingly is repeatedly mentioned in the early records as "Robin, Mr. Winthrop's man."

Wequash Cook, or Hermon Garret, was, as I have already observed, a Nehantic of Rhode Island, and son of Momojoshuck, the most ancient sachem known to us of the Nehantic tribe. On the death of his brother, Wequash, he adopted his name, and succeeded to him in his influence over that part of the Pequot tribe which attempted to preserve a separate existence on the eastern borders of their ancient country.* Fifty or sixty of these scattered warriors he collected around him, with a few Nehantics, and remained their sagamore till the day of his death. Hermon Garret was the last name which he assumed; but, for the sake of perspicuity, I shall hereafter call him by no other.

In the spring or summer of 1646, Thomas Peeters, of New London, (then called Pequat,) being ill, and some of his fellow-settlers out of provisions, they requested their neighbor, Cassasinamon, to make a hunt for them. He replied that Uncas would be angry. Peeters told him that he should go as from the English plantation, and so under its protection. "We are but twenty men," answered Cassasinamon, "and that is not enough to drive the woods." To obviate this objection, Peeters sent for Hermon Garret, and the two sagamores made a great hunt in company. Uncas soon heard that Cassasinamon, who was his subject, and Hermon Garret, whom he hated as an enemy, were driving the woods as if they were great

* Rhode Island Hist. Coll., Vol. III, p. 65.

and independent sachems like himself and Pessicus. His indignation blazed high. Gathering three hundred Mohegans, he came suddenly upon the hunters, beat some, plundered others, and broke up the enterprise. Thomas Peeters, quite indignant at the small amount of protection which the name of the plantation of Pequat had afforded to Cassasinamon, complained of Uncas to the Commissioners, and the Mohegan sachem was summoned to give an account of his conduct.*

The next court was held in the fall at New Haven, and Uncas appeared before it in person. He confessed to the Commissioners that he had done wrong in acting with such violence in the neighborhood of an English plantation, and agreed to make an acknowledgment of his fault to the settlers. He then brought forward some complaints of his own; how some of his Pequots were enticed from him under pretense of submitting to the English at Pequat; how Hermon Garret had hunted without leave on the lands of the Mohegans, and how the same sagamore was supported and encouraged against him by Peeters and his fellow-settlers. The Court gave him an obliging reply, promising to consider his grievances, and to see that his Pequots should not be taken from him.†

Uncas had been dismissed by the Commissioners, but had not yet left New Haven, when William Morton of New London appeared with three Pequots, bringing a fresh accusation against him. He told the Court that Uncas had hired Wampushet, a Pequot powwow, for fifteen fathoms of wampum, to wound another Indian, and then charge the crime upon Hermon Garret. Wam-

* Hazard, Vol. II, p. 65. † Hazard, Vol. II, p. 65.

pushet, he said, had fulfilled his agreement; but afterwards, becoming troubled in his conscience, confessed the fact, cleared Hermon Garret and inculpated Uncas. As Morton could bring no proof for this story except the assertion of Wampushet, and as that individual was one of the Pequots who came with him from New London, he was called on to testify. His conscience seems to have troubled him a second time, for he contradicted Morton, cleared Uncas, and cast the whole plot upon Hermon Garret and Cassasinamon. Morton was astounded, and the two other Pequots, one of whom was Cassasinamon's brother, asserted in great wrath, that Uncas must have hired Wampushet to alter his testimony. But this miracle of conscientiousness persisted in his story, and added that Hermon Garret and Cassasinamon had given him a pair of breeches and twenty-five fathoms of wampum, to throw the guilt upon Uncas. The Commissioners were utterly perplexed by this labyrinth of lies, and dismissed the affair without adding any thing to their former decision.*

During the year which followed this Court, Uncas seems to have kept straight on in his course of petty tyranny. He took possession of Obechiquod's wife and kept her for his own. He defiled the wife of Sanaps, another of his subjects, and robbed the disconsolate husband of his corn and beans. He favored the Mohegans against the Pequots, so that, if the latter won any thing of the former in play, they could never collect it. He ordered the Pequots to assist him in excursions against the Indians of Long Island, and, when they refused, he

* Hazard, Vol. II, p. 66.

cut up their fishing nets. The harassed Pequots told the colonists dolorous stories of the abuses which they were continually obliged to suffer. "We have sent Uncas wampum," said they, "twenty-five times, as tribute for the English; but we know not whether any part of it has been delivered. And we have made presents to Uncas himself as many as forty times."*

Some time during this year, [1647,] one of Uncas' children died, upon which the sachem presented consolatory gifts to the mother, and ordered the Pequots, with threats, to do the same. Tassaquanot, a surviving brother of Sassacus, opposed compliance with this demand; sagaciously observing, that they had better give the wampum to the English; for, if their favor could be secured, they need trouble themselves little about Uncas. The others, however, terrified by the sachem's threats, collected about one hundred fathoms of wampum, and gave it as they had been directed. Uncas expressed himself much gratified, and promised that after this he would treat them on an equality with his ancient subjects. Only a few days subsequently, Wawequa came into the settlement of the Pequots, and said that his brother and the Mohegan council had resolved to put several of them to death. They now thought of the advice of Tassaquanot, and immediately set about collecting a quantity of wampum with which to purchase the interference of the English. Uncas heard of their design, and the next morning appeared before their fort, attended by a body of armed warriors. No collision took place, however; and the Pequots subsequently succeeded in escaping, and taking up their resi-

* Hazard, Vol. II, p. 89,

dence under the eye and protection of the settlers of New London.*

At the next meeting of the Commissioners, [Boston, July, 1647,] a petition was presented to them, subscribed by the marks of Cassasinamon, Obechiquod and forty-six other Pequots, with those of eighteen Nehantics. It recited all the wrongs which Uncas had inflicted upon them; how he had taken away their wives; how he had robbed them of their corn and beans; how he had spoiled their nets; how he had extorted wampum from them; and how they feared that he was going to kill them. The petitioners asserted, that, when the war broke out between Sassacus and the colonies, they had refused to join in it, and had fled from their country, believing that, if they did not fight against the white men, the latter would never hurt them. Thus they were not guilty of English blood, and so could, with a good grace, claim the English protection.†

Foxon, Uncas' chief councilor,‡ appeared on the part of his sachem, and taking up each of the charges, gave it an especial answer. Some he denied, some he palliated, some he pretended ignorance of, and in every way he put the best possible construction upon Uncas' avaricious and tyrannical conduct.

He said, for instance, that Obechiquod had forfeited his wife by Indian custom, having fled away from the territories of Uncas and left her behind him alone: that the

* Hazard, Vol. II, p. 89. † Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 87, 88.

‡ Foxon, or Foxun, or Poxen, was a crafty, plausible councilor, who, as we learn from a letter of the apostle Eliot, written about this time, was considered, even among the Massachusetts tribes, as "the wisest Indian in the country."—*Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol XXIV, p.* 57.

Pequots had never sent any wampum for the English, except in conjunction with the Mohegans, when they made presents to the governors at Boston and Hartford: that he never heard of any such thing as Uncas' cutting the petitioners' nets: that it was not true that Uncas favored the Mohegans against the Pequots in gaming; although the latter, being a conquered people, might sometimes be afraid to press for their rights: and that, as to their pretense that they never warred against the English, it was utterly false; for some of them were in the fort which was burned by Mason, and escaped under cover of the smoke, while others were, at that very time, fighting in other places against the Narragansetts and Mohegans.*

In this style was the defense of Foxon, who seems to have put the best possible side on a very bad cause. The Commissioners were not deceived by it, although they were still unwilling to deprive their favorite of the authority which the colonies had bestowed upon him. They ordered that the Pequots should return under his rule, but that he should make no attempt to punish them for their late desertion. They sent him, by the mouth of his deputy, a grave reproof, and seriously admonished him that the English would never support him in any such "unlawful and outrageous courses."†

Foxon, however, was not yet through with his labors; for John Winthrop, of New London, now came forward with a new charge against his master. On the part of the Nipmucks he complained that Wawequa, at the head of one hundred and thirty Mohegans, had attacked and

* Hazard, Vol. II, p. 90. † Hazard, Vol. II, p. 91.

plundered them, carrying away thirty-five fathoms of wampum, ten copper kettles, ten large hempen baskets, and many bear skins, deer skins, and other articles of great value. Foxon was again called up and questioned. He admitted the facts stated, but said that Uncas, with his chief men, was then at New Haven, and knew nothing of the affair; that he had never shared in the spoils, and that some of his own Indians were robbed at the same time.*

Winthrop had yet another complaint: that Wawequa had been over to Fisher's Island with a band of men, some of them armed with guns; had frightened an Indian who was on the island, and broken a canoe. Another New London man added, that, when Wawequa returned from Fisher's Island, he hovered in his canoes off the settlement; that his motions were so suspicious and threatening as to alarm all the Indians and some of the English, and that numbers of the Indians were terrified to such a degree as to begin bringing their goods for safety into the colonists' houses. The Commissioners did nothing more for the present, however, than to impose a fine of one hundred fathoms of wampum upon Uncas, which he was to pay as soon as the Pequots returned to him. This fine was in consideration of his conduct the year before at the hunt, and was to be divided, when received, among the Indians and English who had been injured on that occasion by the Mohegans. The complaints being at last finished, Foxon was suffered to depart, well laden with reproofs and admonitions to his avaricious and unscrupulous sachem.†

The Pequots obstinately refused to return to Uncas,

* Hazard, Vol. II, p. 91. † Hazard, Vol. II, p

and, too much under the fear of the Commissioners to make use of any forcible measures, he satisfied himself with complaining at the next Court. He then [October, 1648,] received liberty to constrain them to obey him ; a resolution being also passed, forbidding every one from offering them shelter. The order was useless, for a considerable number of the Pequots could never be either persuaded or forced to live again among the Mohegans. They preferred to mingle with their old enemies, the Nehantics and Narragansetts, or to hold a precarious existence as a community unrecognized by the English, rather than submit to the extortions of Uncas, or form a part of his traitorous and insolent tribe.

The Commissioners had soon to defend the Mohegan sachem instead of admonishing him. The Pocomtocks, of Deerfield, had been enraged by his successful attempt to abduct Sequassen from their territory. The Narragansetts and Nehantics sent them wampum to attack him, and in August, 1648, a large number of warriors gathered for this purpose at Pocomtock. Presents had also been sent to the Mohawks, and their arrival only was expected for the savage army to commence its march. Rumor proclaimed that one thousand warriors had collected at Pocomtock for this expedition; that three hundred of them were furnished with guns and ammunition ; and that the Narragansetts were sending their old men, women and children into swamps, and preparing to join the invaders with eight hundred men. Hermon Garret and his people, though living east of the Paucatuc, and in what might be considered the Narragansett country, disclaimed all interest in the conspiracy, and retired to a point of land

where they could be separate from all who were any ways concerned in it.

The governor and council of Connecticut were alarmed at these vast preparations, and anticipated not only ruin to Uncas but danger to the colony. They sent off Thomas Stanton and two other men, on horseback, to the place of rendezvous, with instructions to question the Indians as to their designs, and protest against them if they were hostile to the Mohegans. On reaching Pocomtock, Stanton found a large number of warriors collected, and preparations for the expedition going on. Being politely received by the sachem, he expatiated on the warlike character of the English, on their love of justice, and told him that they were firmly resolved to defend Uncas against his enemies. The sachem replied that the Pocomtocks were aware of the wisdom and courage of the English, and had no wish to fall out with them; they would therefore desist from their enterprise for the present, and take further time to consider the matter. One great reason of this complaisance was, that he had just received news of an attack upon the Mohawks by the eastern Indians in the French interest, and therefore could not expect the immediate assistance of those formidable allies. Thus the league was, for the present, dissolved; the Narragansetts and Nehantics dared not move alone, and Uncas was never afterwards threatened by so formidable a combination. Messengers were sent to the Narragansetts by the Commissioners, to charge them with their faithlessness, and order them to pay up the arrears of their two thousand fathoms of wampum.*

* Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 105, 106. Winthrop, Vol. II, p. 333.

The Rhode Island tribes, finding open force of no avail, now again resorted to secret measures for getting rid of their hated rival. During the following year, [1649,] Uncas repeatedly complained of their underhand proceedings. "The Narragansetts," he said, "were plotting against him. They were trying to bring the Mohawks upon him. They were trying to put an end to his life by witchcraft. They had neither restored his canoes nor his prisoners."

One day, as he was on board an English vessel in the Thames, a Narragansett, named Cuttaquin, suddenly ran a sword into his breast, giving him a wound which was supposed to be mortal. The would-be assassin attempted to escape, but was seized and examined by some of the English, among whom was John Mason. "I am a Narragansett," said Cuttaquin to Mason; "the Narragansett sachems are my sachems: they came to me and wished me to kill Uncas: they offered me a large quantity of wampum and I accepted it: this wampum I spent and thus was placed in their power: had I not fulfilled my bargain and attempted to kill him, they would have slain me."

The prisoner was then given up to the Mohegans, who carried him away, together with their wounded sachem. Ninigret went to Boston to clear himself and Pessicus from the charge; but the Commissioners were so convinced of their guilt, that his arguments and protestations of innocence made but little impression on them. He asserted that the Mohegans had extorted the above mentioned story from Cuttaquin by torture. They replied that Cuttaquin related it to Mason and others before he was surrendered to the Mohegans. They dismissed him with reprimands

and threats, and sent word to Uncas, who was recovering, that Cuttaquin was at his disposal.* Although the fate of this wretched man has not been transmitted to us, those who know the customs of the Indians will not find it difficult to conjecture it. Methinks I see a fire lighted, a stake planted, a naked victim bound to it, and around him dancing a crowd of painted savages. Mingled with the fierce shouts and boasting of warriors I hear the shrill cries of female exultation, and, occasionally, what sounds like a low, suppressed groan of anguish. The groans have ceased; the shouts have died away; the fire is extinguished; the placid moon looks down upon a heap of ashes.

Rumors were now prevalent that Ninigret was about to give his daughter in marriage to the brother of Sassacus, who was collecting Pequots around him as if he meant to assume the authority of his ancestors. The object of this plan was supposed to be, to gather all the Pequots into one body, thus weaken the Mohegans by causing large desertions from their tribe, and raise up against the remnant a foe whose proximity and bitter hatred would render him formidable. Messengers were immediately sent to the Nehantic and Narragansett country, to charge the sachems with the reported design, to make inquiries concerning the facts, and to urge the Indians again as to the arrears of their wampum. Nothing more is to be found in the records, concerning this subject, and if the marriage took place, (if, indeed, it was ever proposed,) it utterly failed of its intended effect.†

In September, 1650; Uncas complained to the Com-

* Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 123, 130. † Hazard, Vol. II, p. 152.

missioners that Mohansick, a Long Island sachem, had killed several Mohegans, and had bewitched others, among whom was himself. The Commissioners appear to have thought little of Mohansick's witchcraft; but the other part of the complaint they referred to the consideration and action of a committee. The committee-men were to see if Mohansick was guilty; if he was, they were to order him to give Uncas satisfaction; and, if he refused, they were to threaten him with the power of the English.*

It is not difficult to see why Uncas was thus continually at swords' points with the sachems and tribes of his own race. His nature was mean and jealous as well as ambitious and tyrannical. Hence, when he was not busy in conquering his neighbors, or oppressing his subjects, he was usually accusing before the English some one whom it was too troublesome or too dangerous to attack by force. Doubtless he had many provocations to this conduct, for he was universally hated by the surrounding chieftains, and they seized every opportunity of doing him mischief. But this hatred was not without its cause; and although much of it was produced by envy and jealousy, yet much more arose from the position which Uncas held towards all other red men. He had always been the unscrupulous ally of the English; had obeyed every nod or sign with which they favored him, and had taken every advantage which they would allow over his brethren of the forest. It was he who guided Mason by night to the Pequot fortress; who accused Miantinŏmo of forming a conspiracy against the colonies; who put that sachem to death as soon as he thought hė could do so

* Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 150, 151.

with safety; who oppressed the fallen and scattered Pequots; who dragged Sequassen from his place of refuge among the Pocomtocks, and surrendered him to the colonial magistrates; and who was continually complaining to his partial allies of Pessicus, of Ninigret, of Mexham, of Mohansick, and of every other sachem from whom he could possibly have any thing to fear. Such were the reasons for which Uncas was hated by the tribes who lived around him.

During the year 1651, he gave another specimen of his jealous spirit. Sequassen had now returned to his own country, and the whites, taking pity on the unfortunate sachem, seem to have done him some favors. Uncas was greatly grieved, and carried his complaints to the Commissioners. "Sequassen," he said, "was set up, and they were going to make a great sachem of him, and yet he refused to pay their friend Uncas an acknowledgment of wampum which he owed him as his conqueror." The Commissioners disclaimed any intention of making Sequassen great, and recommended that the government of Connecticut should see that Uncas received his rights; although, as to the tribute of acknowledgment which he talked of, they told him that they knew nothing about it.*

In the early part of 1653, Uncas came to the house of Governor Haynes, at Hartford, and complained that the Narragansetts and Nehantics were trying to form a confederation against him with the Dutch of New Netherlands. "Ninigret," he said, "had been to Manhattan and formed a league with the Dutch governor. He made the

* Hazard, Vol. II, p. 190.

governor a present of a great quantity of wampum, and the governor made him a present of a large box of powder and bullets. Then Ninigret went to a council of Indians over the Hudson River, and made a speech to them, asking their help against Uncas and the English."

He then related a circumstance which is quite characteristic of the customs and superstitions of the Indians. He said that, about two years previous, Ninigret sent a present of wampum to the Monheag* sachem, desiring him to send a man skillful in magic and poisoning, and promising that, on the poisoner's return, he would send him one hundred fathoms of wampum more. Uncas, hearing of this nefarious plot against himself, caused a strict watch to be kept by land and sea, and succeeded in taking the canoe which was bringing the poisoner. It contained six other persons, one of whom was Wampeag, brother of the Monheag sachem, another was a Pequot, and the rest were Narragansetts. Uncas was then at Hartford, but his men carried the prisoners to Mohegan, and there examined them. Wampeag and one of the Narragansetts confessed every thing, and pointed out the conjuror; upon which the Mohegans fell on him in a rage and put him to death.†

Rumors now came in, from various quarters, of a conspiracy of the Narragansetts and other tribes, with the Dutch, against the New England colonies. Various Indians testified to it before the Commissioners, and, as war was then raging between the English Commonwealth and the United Provinces, the reports seemed not improbable.

* Probably the Mohegans or Mohicans of Hudson River.

† Hazard, Vol. II, p. 211.

Governor Stuyvesant, of New Amsterdam, denied the charge; Ninigret and the sachems of the Narragansetts did the same, and, after much alarm and indignation on all sides, the difficulty passed bloodlessly away.*

On the 19th of April, 1650, the settlers of Farmington made another agreement concerning land with the Tunxis. As Sequassen's authority was now of no account, the business was transacted on the part of the Indians by their two principal men, Pethus and Ahamo. They gave up a considerable part of Indian Neck, reserving only about one hundred and seventy acres, and received in lieu of it a tract of two hundred acres on the other side of the Farmington. In this little treaty the two former purchases [1636 and 1640] were mentioned, as facts taken for granted by both parties, and as serving for the foundations of the present agreement. In the last article the Indians acknowledged that, on account of the protection and trade of the English, they were better off than when the whole country was at their own disposal; so that they could even hire land of the white men with more profit than they formerly held it free and without hiring it of any one.†

In 1650, a committee being sent by the General Court of Connecticut to examine the lands of Mattabesett, that is the townships of Middletown and Chatham, reported that they were capable of supporting *fifteen* families. A settlement was commenced the same year, and purchases were perhaps made, although no records have been preserved of any such transaction. A portion of the Middle-

* Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 225—242.

† Farmington Records.

town lands, however, seems to have been given, some time previously, by Sowheag, to Governor Haynes.*

We now return to the Pequots, of whom some are at this time living with Uncas, others on Long Island, and others with the Nehantics and Narragansetts. The remainder, forming a large portion of the tribe, constitute the two bands of Cassasinamon and Hermon Garret; the former in the township of New London,† the latter living east of the Paucatuc. These bands were not yet acknowledged as legal communities by the English; nor could the two leaders claim those rights and honors which were accorded to Uncas, Ninigret, and other independent sachems. This was more especially the case with Cassasinamon, who with his followers were all Pequots, while Hermon Garret and some of his people were, as I have already mentioned, Nehantics. As early as 1647, the western band had petitioned the Commissioners, though ineffectually, that a place might be assigned them to live on, and that they might be taken under the protection of the English. Now, [1649] John Winthrop, of New London, introduced a number of Pequots to the Court, who preferred the same request. The Commissioners decided that, with the consent of Connecticut, a reservation ought to be made within the limits of that colony for the petitioners, but that they must remain subject to Uncas. Foxon, who was present, was instructed to tell Uncas that he must treat them kindly, and that they were still his people.‡

* Statistical Account of Middlesex County, p. 62.

† On the eastern side of the Thames, however, in what was afterwards Groton and is now Ledyard.

‡ Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 131, 132

In the following year, [1650,] Thomas Stanton was commissioned to obtain an account of the numbers of the Pequots, and to collect of them the arrears of their tribute. The next meeting of the Commissioners [1651] was at New Haven, and thither came Stanton to report the results of his examination. With him arrived a number of Ninigret's people, Uncas and several of his men, Hermon Garret, Cassasinamon and some of his band, and several Pequots from Long Island. Ninigret's men paid in ninety-one fathoms of wampum; the Long Island Pequots, thirty-two; and Cassasinamon, fifty-six. Hermon Garret brought fifty-four fathoms, and promised to deliver the thirty which were still due from his band within a month. Uncas paid seventy-nine fathoms down, and agreed to hand in whatever he might owe above this amount, within three months. He then, with several others, demanded, on behalf of the Pequots, why this tribute was required, how long it was to continue, and whether it would descend to the next generation.

The Commissioners referred to the treaty of 1638 as the ground of the tribute. The Pequots, they said, being then overcome in a war justly waged against them by the colonies, consented to save their lives by paying a small annual acknowledgment. Tribute was now due for twelve years, reckoning only to 1650; but, out of clemency, they would remit all that was past, and, if the Pequots would pay it regularly for ten years to come, after that they should be free.* This condition, as a matter of course, was accepted, yet it would seem that it was not observed by those who imposed it, since the Indians continued to

* Hazard, Vol. II, p 188.

make their annual payments at least as late as 1663, that is for thirteen years instead of ten. It is possible, however, and perhaps probable, that these last payments were simply arrears on the former ones.

In 1653, an account of tribute received from the Pequots was handed in to the Commissioners by Thomas Stanton, who seems to have been the agent for its collection. It consisted of thirteen pounds and three shillings worth of wampum from Hermon Garret; eleven pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence from Cassasinamon; eight pounds seventeen shillings and sixpence from the Pequots under Ninigret; and ten pounds from Uncas, being what was due from him two years before.*

A quarrel was now going on, between the English and Ninigret, which contributed not a little to better the condition of the Pequots. Ascassassotic, a sachem of Long Island, murdered several of the Nehantics, and challenged their sachem to revenge himself if he could. Ninigret commenced hostilities against him; hired warriors from the Pocomtocks, the Mohawks and the Wampanoags; and would probably have subdued or destroyed the insolent Long Islander had it not been for the interference of the Commissioners. The latter affected to consider the Long Islanders under their protection; ordered Ninigret to submit his quarrel with them to the decision of the Court; and, influenced probably by his power and independent spirit, treated him with what seems like unprovoked harshness and injustice. They brought several accusations against him, however, to justify their conduct, and, among others, that he had neglected to pay the tribute

* Hazard, Vol. II, p. 302.

which was due from him on account of his Pequots. He denied that he had any Pequots; saying that he only hired some, with wampum, to fight against the Long Islanders; paying, in addition to their wages, a certain sum to the relations in case any one of them was killed. On this point the English were probably in the right; for the sachem's assertion that he had no Pequots of his own was, almost unquestionably, a falsehood.

The quarrel deepened, until the Commissioners [1654] declared war against Ninigret, and ordered that two hundred and seventy infantry and forty cavalry should be raised to carry it on. Major Willard, the commander-in-chief, advanced with a part of this force into the Nehantic territories. Ninigret made no defense; but, leaving his wigwams and crops unguarded, took refuge in a swamp. A number of Pequots who accompanied Willard set out one day in search of Ninigret's camp, with the intention of obtaining an interview with their kindred there and persuading them to desert the Nehantics. They were met in the forests by three of Ninigret's Pequots, who demanded of them what they were doing there. "O! we have some things to do," was the answer. "How many are there of you?" "Thirty." "Then there are thirty heads for us," fiercely responded the three boasters. "But we are in the employ of the English: we carry burdens or letters where they wish to send them." "We will have those thirty heads before to-morrow afternoon in spite of the English," replied the strangers; "we will not desist from fighting the Long Islanders, nor will we forsake Ninigret."

This bold and braggart answer was worthy of a Pequot;

but the greatest part of that tribe then living among the Nehantics were of a different opinion. Seventy-three of them came, next day, to Willard's camp, to seek English protection, and were followed on the day after by sixty-three more. Few of these, probably, ever returned to Ninigret; all, or nearly all, joining the bands of Hermon Garret and Cassasinamon.

The war was not prosecuted with much energy; and Ninigret, instead of being entirely uprooted, as the Connecticut and New Haven colonists wished, was permitted to escape by a humiliating peace. His power was greatly broken, however; and, although he lived for more than twenty years afterwards, and even committed some underhand hostilities against the Long Islanders, he is but little further mentioned in the records of those times.*

At the next meeting of the Commissioners, [September, 1655,] the Pequots brought in their tribute,† and presented a petition concerning themselves: that a place might be allotted them for a settlement; that a governor might be appointed for them; and that they might be provided with a code of laws. The Commissioners approved of these requests, and appointed Hermon Garret or Cashawashet governor over the Pequots at Paucatuc and Wecapaug, and Cassasinamon governor over those at Nameag or New London. Tumsquash and Metumpawett

* For the troubles with Ninigret, see Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 308—381, *passim*.

† From Paucatuc, fifty-eight fathoms; from Wecapaug, thirty-seven; from Uncas, (for two years,) one hundred and forty-three; received in all £301 1*s*. 6*d*. Tributaries behind in their payments: six at Paucatuc; five at Wecapaug; six at Nameag, (Cassasinamon's band;) thirty-six on Long Island, and twenty-two on the Connecticut River, who had never paid any thing.

were chosen assistants of the former, and Yowwematero assistant of the latter. To each governor the Court presented a commission drawn up in the following form:

"To Caushawesett, appointed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies governor for one year over the Pequots dwelling at Paucatuc and Wecapaug. You, being for one year deputed governor of the aforesaid Pequots, are required to carry it, in all things, according to such rules and instructions as you have or shall receive from the said Commissioners, and according to their orders; and all Pequots inhabiting the said places are required, peaceably and quietly, to subject themselves to you, to be by you ordered according to the orders aforesaid, as they will answer the contrary at their peril. New Haven, September 24th, 1655."

A similar commission was given to Cassasinamon, and a brief code of laws was presented to each of the new magistrates by which to govern their people. Of this code the following is a copy:

"1. They shall not blaspheme the name of God, the creator of Heaven and Earth, nor profane the Sabbath day.

2. They shall not commit willful murder, nor practice witchcraft* under pain of death.

3. They shall not commit adultery upon pain of severe punishment.

4. Whosoever is drunk shall pay ten shillings; but, if he have not wherewithal to pay, he shall be punished with ten stripes, and further receive due punishment for other miscarriages by such means committed.

* Powwowing, probably.

5. Whosoever stealeth the goods of another shall, upon proof, pay at least double the worth.

6. Whosoever shall plot mischief against the English shall suffer death, or such other punishment as the case may deserve.

7. They shall neither make war, nor join in war, with any other Indians, or people of any other nation, (unless in their own just defense,) without the express leave of the Commissioners.

8. They shall duly submit to such Indian governors as the Commissioners shall yearly appoint, and to them shall yearly pay the tribute due to the English."

As Uncas was dissatisfied that his Pequots were not returned to him, the Commissioners enacted that those who would go back to Mohegan should have all their arrears of tribute remitted to them. It was also ordered, that Cassasinamon must not attempt to seduce those who were still with Uncas; that his men must hunt and fish only within their own bounds, and not on the lands of the Mohegans: but permission was granted that they might hunt between the Thames and the Mystic, if the English settlers there made no objection. All "royal privileges" formerly belonging to sachems were now granted to the governors. There being six years tribute behind, Thomas Stanton was to receive it, and, if it was not freely paid, the governors were authorized to obtain it from their people by force.* And thus, just seventeen years after the suppression of the Pequots as a nation, they were restored to their ancient name and country, and placed once more under chieftains of their own choice.

* Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 334—336.

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UNCAS PLEADING BEFORE THE COURT

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE RE-UNION OF THE PEQUOTS TO THE DEATH OF UNCAS.

In 1656, Uncas for once united with his old enemy, Sequassen; but it was only in a quarrel with Tontonimo, sachem of a part of the Podunks. A young man named Weaseapano, who seems to have belonged to the Podunk tribe, murdered a sagamore living near Mattabesett. The sagamore was a relative, and probably a subject, of Sequassen, and that sachem of course deemed himself injured and insulted by the transaction. He wished to seize the criminal, but the Podunks were resolved to defend him, and Sequassen sought the interference of Uncas. Uncas himself had cause of complaint against Tontonimo, for protecting a murderer who had fled from his own vengeance, and for enticing away some of his men. According to his usual practice, he, in the first place, brought his cause before the English: in this case before the magistrates of Connecticut at Hartford; and he was accompanied in his complaint by Sequassen. The magistrates summoned all the parties before them, and attempted an amicable adjustment of the difficulties. Sequassen stood up before this court of arbitration, and testified that the murder was committed by a mean fellow upon a man who was a great sachem and his relation. Uncas, and

his councilor, Foxon, confirmed this assertion, declaiming against the Podunks at great length and with much excitement. Governor Webster asked them what satisfaction they required. They replied that, as the deceased sagamore was a great man, and the murderer a mean fellow, they must have the latter and nine of his tribe to put to death. The Podunks pleaded that Weaseapano was justified in what he had done, because the sagamore had killed one of his uncles. Several of the court delivered their opinions on the subject, some favoring one view of it, and some another. The governor explained that, according to English law, only the murderer could be punished, and both he and others of the court exhorted both parties to try and settle the matter peaceably. The Podunks then offered a quantity of wampum by way of satisfaction. Uncas and Sequassen refused it, but said they would accept of six victims instead of ten. Wearied out with hearing long speeches, which they did not understand, the magistrates urgently pressed Tontonimo to settle the affair by giving up the murderer. He pretended to consent; but, instead of fulfilling his agreement, stole privately out of court, with his followers, and hurried off to the Podunk fort. Uncas and Sequassen were highly indignant; the English also were vexed at being thus deceived, and a messenger was sent to the Podunks, to order them to perform their promise. Uncas was now persuaded to accept of the murderer alone; but the Podunks said that his friends in the fort were so numerous and powerful that they could not surrender him. In the afternoon the magistrates came to the conclusion that the English ought not to trouble themselves, or interfere,

with the quarrels of the Indians. The governor made a long speech to the complainants, desiring them to take the wampum which had been offered them, if they would; if they would not, he left them to follow their own counsel; only they should not fight on the west side of the river, nor injure any of the English on the other side. Several deputies said the same, and the court then broke up, leaving the quarrel about as near to a settlement as it had found it.*

Uncas took advantage of the permission thus given him, and, assembling a war party, marched against the Podunks. Being met near the Hockanum River by an equal number of the enemy, he considered the event so doubtful that he was unwilling to hazard a battle. He sent a message to Tontonimo that, if he continued to protect that murderer, Uncas would bring the Mohawks upon him, to destroy both him and his people. He then returned home, and shortly afterwards induced the Podunks to surrender Weaseapano by means of a stratagem. A brave and dexterous warrior, furnished with Mohawk weapons, was sent to the Podunk country, where he set fire to a wigwam by night, left the weapons on the ground near the spot, and fled away without being discovered. In the morning, the Podunks came out of their fort to examine the ruins and look for the trail of the destroyers; and, seeing some weapons lying about which they knew by their make and ornaments must have been fashioned by Mohawks, they concluded that Uncas had succeeded in fulfilling his threat. Terrified at the idea of supporting a contest with the dreadful Iro-

* Colonial Records, Vol. I, pp. 304, 305

quois, they sent immediately to Mohegan for peace, and surrendered the murderer.*

The Podunks, as far as I can learn, were the first Indians of Connecticut who had an opportunity of listening to the preaching of the gospel. John Eliot, the "apostle to the Indians," being at a council of ministers in Hartford during the year 1657, anxiously sought an opportunity of declaring the truth to the natives of that vicinity. As the Podunks lived only on the opposite side of the river, they were persuaded by some of the principal inhabitants to assemble and listen to the preacher. He spoke to them in their own language, and, when he had finished, put the question whether they were willing to accept of Jesus Christ, the Savior, as he had now been presented to them. The sachems and old men scornfully and angrily answered, "No." The English, they said, had already taken away their land, and now they were only attempting to make the Podunks their servants.

Such was the reception which the Podunks gave to their first, and, perhaps their last, invitation to embrace the religion of truth. There is no record to show that they had suffered any injustice with regard to their lands; and probably it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for them to have pointed to any definite and considerable cause of dissatisfaction. They considered only that they had once been lords of the whole country around them, while now it was almost all in the hands of the English foreigners. They saw that they were poor and wretched, while the white men were surrounded by what seemed to them the height of comfort and even luxury.

* Dr. Dwight's Travels, Vol. II, p. 282.

They looked at these results, and thought not of their causes: of their own heedlessness and idleness; of the white man's providence and industry. With spirits rendered sore and fretful by such considerations, they were little disposed to hear moral teachings from a race whom they regarded as having defrauded and injured them. But this was not all: the doctrines of repentance, humiliation and holiness are unpleasing to all men; and they were none the less unpleasing to the Podunks, because the latter had been brought up from childhood to love war, to love revenge, to lay no restraint upon the indulgence of their passions.

During 1657, the Mohegans were again obliged to defend themselves against the Narragansetts and Nehantics, who were assisted, at times, by two Massachusetts tribes, the Pocomtocks and Norwootucks. On one occasion, some Pequots allured a Mohegan canoe to shore, and thus enabled a party of Pocomtocks, who were lying in ambush, to surprise and massacre the crew.* Pessicus, with a large force, invaded the Mohegan country, and once more held Uncas besieged in his fortress. A small body of English was sent by the colony of Connecticut to relieve him; its very appearance caused the Narragansetts to retreat; and the Mohegans, rushing out upon them, changed their retreat into a rout. The invaders fled tumultuously towards their own country, and were furiously pursued by the Mohegans, who overtook and killed many of them while struggling through the thickets or floundering across the streams. Long after this battle, some old Mohegans used to relate, with savage glee, how

* Hazard, Vol. II.

they found a poor Narragansett lying among the bushes which bordered a river, and so crazed with fear that he imagined himself in the water and was actually trying to swim. Tradition says that one body of the fugitives was driven out of the straight course to the fords of the Yantic, and came upon that stream where it flowed between high banks and with a deep and rapid current. Blinded by fear, driven on by the enemy behind, they plunged recklessly into the abyss, and were either dashed to pieces on the rocks beneath the precipice, or drowned amid the boiling waters.*

The Pocomtocks and Norwootucks grounded their hostility against Uncas, or pretended to ground it, on his treatment of the Podunks. Either his quarrel with Tontonimo had broken out again on the latter discovering how he had been duped, or some new difficulty had taken place of which we have not been informed: at all events, the two Massachusetts tribes now complained to the Court of the United Colonies, that Uncas had made war upon their friends, the Podunks, and had driven them out of their country. In reply, the Commissioners directed Uncas to let the Podunks return to their homes and remain there without molestation from him or his people. They were to be invited back by the government of Connecticut, and the Pocomtock and Norwootuck sachems were to be notified of the fact, and ordered to cease their hostilities against Uncas till the next meeting of the Court.†

If this message was forwarded, it availed little; for the records of the United Colonies for 1658 speak of another invasion of the Mohegans, by a combined force of Po-

* History of Norwich, pp. 30, 31. † Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 384, 385.

comtocks, Tunxis and Narragansetts, headed by Annapecom, the principal sachem of the Pocomtocks. Uncas again fled to his fort, where the enemy not only besieged him, but committed some acts of violence upon the neighboring English settlers. They were told that two men, named Brewster and Thomson, furnished the Mohegans with ammunition, and that Brewster had several of their enemies concealed in his house. A couple of shots, also, were fired at them from that side of the river, and added to their suspicions and indignation. Some young Pocomtocks dashed over the stream in search of the marksmen, and, not finding them otherwheres, ran to the house of Brewster and attempted to force their way in. Failing in this, they revenged themselves by carrying off some of his corn and a quantity of other property. Annapecom reproved his warriors for this act of violence, and made them restore what they had taken; but Brewster was still indignant, and, after the invasion was over, laid his complaint before the Commissioners. They ordered that a fine of forty fathoms of wampum should be levied from the confederates; ten from the Tunxis, fifteen from the Pocomtocks, and fifteen from the Narragansetts. The Tunxis paid their fine on its being demanded; but whether the others were equally compliant is uncertain. Annapecom sent the Commissioners a dignified explanation of the difficulties with Brewster, and, in conclusion, made the following requests: "We desire the English sachems not to persuade us to a peace with Uncas, for we have experience of his falseness, and we know that, though he promises much, he will perform nothing. Also, if any messengers are sent to us from the English, we

desire that they may not be liars and tale-bearers, but sober men and such as we can understand."*

No further invasions, however, of the Mohegan country are mentioned, and no more battles between that tribe and the Narragansetts; from which it seems probable that this tedious and harassing hostility of fifteen years had now about drawn to a close.

But the uneasy temper of Uncas could not suffer him to remain quiet long, and he had scarcely got out of one set of difficulties before he plunged into another. In August, 1658, some of his warriors killed a man and two women, subjects of Ponham and Tupayaamen, two Narragansett sachems who had submitted to the government of Massachusetts. Other Mohegans seized six of the subjects of Apumps, a Nipmuck sagamore, killed one of them and wounded another. Pomham and Apumps complained to the Commissioners, and Uncas was notified that he must answer the charges at the next Court; but no further action was taken on the subject, and the complaint was eventually forgotten.†

In the early part of 1661, Uncas attacked the Indians of Quabaug in the eastern part of Massachusetts, killed some, made others prisoners, and carried off property, as the sufferers alleged, to the value of thirty three pounds sterling. The Quabaug Indians were subjects of Woosamequin, or Massasoit, the first friend of the Pilgrims, who must now have been an old man and not far from his final sleep. As he had gone through the ceremony of submitting to the English, Massachusetts considered him under her protection, and sent a message to Uncas order-

* Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 396—423. † Hazard, Vol. II, p. 388.

ing him to liberate the prisoners, and make restitution for the plunder he had taken. No reply was received from the sachem, and, some time afterwards, the affair being made known to the Commissioners, they sent John Mason to him to repeat the demand. Uncas excused himself to Mason, by saying that he had only received the order from Massachusetts about twenty days previous to his arrival. He never knew, he added, that the Quabaug Indians were under the care of the English, and it was not true that they belonged to Woosamequin; but, on the contrary, to a deadly enemy of the Mohegans, named Onopequin. Woosamequin's people had repeatedly fought against the Mohegans, and so had Alexander, or Wamsutta, his eldest son. Nevertheless he had already set the prisoners free, although one of them was his own cousin, and had been in arms against him several times before.

Such was the excuse of Uncas. It seems to have satisfied the Commissioners, who made no further mention of obliging him to give satisfaction. It was contradicted, however, in part, by Wamsutta, who being about that time in Plymouth, declared that the Quabaug Indians were his, and that he had made war with the Mohegans because of the wrong which Uncas had done them.*

In 1666, Uncas became involved in a quarrel with Arramament, who appears to have been at this time the sole sachem of the Podunks. The Mohegans encroached upon the territories of the Podunks, probably by hunting over them, and thus arose a disagreement, and perhaps hostilities. One or both parties, however, soon appealed to the government of Connecticut, and the General Court

* Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 450, 451.

of that colony appointed a committee to examine and settle the difficulties. A boundary line was surveyed and marked out, and both sachems expressing their satisfaction with it, the troubles were brought to an amicable conclusion.*

We have one more circumstance to relate of Arramament, and then his name, like that of his fellow-sachem, Tontonimo, will appear no more upon our pages. Either before the late treaty, or after it, and in consequence of the good feeling produced by it, Arramament gave his daughter Sowgonosk in marriage to Attawanhood, the third son of Uncas. In confirmation of this act of friendship, Arramament made over [May 23d, 1672,] to his daughter and her husband all the lands which he owned in Podunk† or elsewhere, then and forever. This territory was to descend to the children of Sowgonosk by Attawanhood; in case there were no such, to the children whom she might have by any other person; and in case there were none such as these, then to whatever persons were declared to be the nearest heirs by English law.‡

This Attawanhood seems to have kept the main chance in view, even in love affairs, and to have been a famously lucky fellow at marrying himself into property. By one of his wives, either Sowgonosk or some other, he obtained lands in Farmington, and it is extremely probable that it was by some other marriage that he stepped into his sachemship over the western Nehantics.

The affairs of the Pequots during the period occupied by this chapter are of no very great interest, and are

* Mohegan Petition. † East Windsor and East Hartford.
‡ Windsor Records.

chiefly included under the heads of their governors, their tributes, and their lands. Hermon Garret and Cassasinamon were, for some time, appointed, annually, as governors; but, after several years, this ceremony was discontinued, and each of them held the office to the day of his death. Cassasinanon's band was the largest, partly because it had been so from the beginning, and partly because new deserters continued to come to him from Uncas. It was in vain to try to prevent this: the General Court of Connecticut finally gave Cassasinamon permission to keep them till further orders, and no further orders ever appear to have been given. But the Pequots after a while began to get tired of their governors, and commenced deserting to Ninigret, and even to Uncas. These sachems were therefore forbidden [1660] to harbor any such runaways, and were directed to detain them when they came, and send word to their governors so that they might be fetched home.*

Out of the wampum annually paid by the Pequots, a considerable sum was usually allowed to Thomas Stanton, the collector; a smaller portion to Captain Denison of Stonington, who acted as assistant or overseer to the two governors; and the remainder was placed in the treasury of the General Court of the United Colonies.†

At one time, [1658,] none of the Pequots brought in their tribute, and Hermon Garret did not even appear before the Court to apologize for his remissness. For this act of contempt and disobedience, he and his people were

* Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 433, 434.

† In 1657, Stanton was paid one hundred and twenty fathoms and Denison thirty. Hazard, Vol. II, p. 382

fined ten fathoms a man, while those of the New London band who were present received a sharp reproof. One of them offering a quantity of refuse wampum in part payment, the Commissioners took it as an insult, and had him and another of his countrymen imprisoned. A Pequot who had borne arms the preceding summer against the Pocomtocks, and thus violated the seventh article of the Pequot code, was likewise confined. Obechiquod and seven others were, for the same offense, fined seven fathoms of wampum. All these fines were to be distrained by Thomas Stanton, and, if needful, he was to be assisted by the constables of New London in Connecticut and Southertowne in Rhode Island. About a fortnight after, wampum arrived from both bands, with a message from Hermon Garret excusing both his non-appearance and his non-payment. "He had been sick," he said, "and some of his men were stubborn and would not pay in season: he wished, therefore, that some Englishmen might be appointed to force them to raise the tribute." This excuse being considered satisfactory, the Commissioners remitted all the fines, and simply ordered the Indians to pay over what they still owed into the hands of Stanton.*

In 1663, fifty fathoms of wampum were accepted from Cassasinamon and thirty from Hermon Garret, as satisfaction in full of all arrears. It was then enacted, that forty fathoms, annually, should thereafter be paid by each company; yet no records exist of any further payments, and it is extremely probable that this was the last. It is difficult to see why this condition was imposed; for, by the

* Hazard, Vol. II. p. 413.

agreement of 1650, the tribute was only to be exacted for ten years after that period.*

As the Pequots had to pay yearly so considerable an amount of wampum, they were obliged to hunt in various places for the material from which it was manufactured. They sometimes went over, for this purpose, to Long Island, which was famous for producing an abundance of shells, and was even called, on that account, Sewan Hacky, or the land of shells. About 1657 or 1658, the Montauk sachem, fearful, perhaps, that his shores would be exhausted of their shelly wealth, commenced opposing their visits. Twenty or twenty-five years before, the Pequots had held the Montauks as their tributaries, and had exacted from them not shells only, but the wampum itself. They now, therefore, considered their ancient and hereditary rights violated, and brought a complaint on the subject before the Court of the United Colonies. The Commissioners ordered the Montauk sachem to abstain from molesting the Pequots, and, if he had any fair and reasonable objection to their custom of gathering shells on Long Island, to bring it before them at their next meeting. Nothing, however, appeared, and we may therefore conclude that the Pequot canoes still continued to glide over the Sound to bring back loads of conches and mussels.†

In 1661, two of the colonists were appointed as assistants to the Pequot governors. They were to advise them in their administration, and to see that the Indians were not deprived of any rights by their English neighbors. This plan was continued afterwards, year by year, and in

* Hazard, Vol. II, p. 477. † Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 387, 388.

course of time was adopted with regard to most of the tribes in the colony. The governors were ordered to encourage their people to attend on the instructions of any religious teachers who should be sent them by the Commissioners. They were required, also, to seize all spirituous liquors brought among them, and deliver it to the English assistants. The assistants were to sell it to the whites, (a tougher race!) and give the proceeds, half to the person who informed concerning the liquor, and half to the one who seized it. The overseers were also instructed to use their influence in civilizing the Pequots, and were authorized to punish any among them whose conduct was riotous and disorderly. They might decide all cases but capital ones, and the Indians might appeal to them from the decisions of their governors.*

The Pequots were, for several years, unsettled, both divisions living on lands held more by sufferance than by acknowledged right. They made repeated complaints concerning their situation to the Commissioners; petitioning that they might be furnished with a tract where they might build their wigwams, and plant their corn, without disturbance. Whenever these complaints were preferred, the Court usually recommended Rhode Island to lay out a reservation for Hermon Garret's band, and Connecticut to lay out one for that of Cassasinamon, and here the matter ended. In 1667, however, the General Court of this last colony removed Cassasinamon's people from Nawyonk on the seashore, where until then they had resided, and planted them on a reservation of some two thousand acres, styled Mushantuxet, situated in the

* Hazard, Vol. II, p. 464.

present township of Ledyard.* The Paucatuc and Wecapaug Pequots were settled and again unsettled, and did not obtain a permanent home until 1683, when Connecticut granted them a tract of two hundred and eighty acres now lying in North Stonington.

In 1656, the Farmington Indians murdered a white man and burnt a quantity of English property. A Tunxis, named Mesapeno, was supposed to be the author of these outrages, but he escaped, and never was punished. His tribe, therefore, was forced by the colony to agree to an annual tribute of eighty fathoms of wampum for seven years. This tribute was very slackly paid, and the greater part of it seems never to have been paid at all. The Tunxis were at this time very troublesome to the people of Farmington, entertaining strange Indians in their village, and pleasantly shooting bullets into the town during their skirmishes. The General Court of Connecticut therefore ordered them to send away all Indians who did not belong among them, and to provide themselves a residence at a safer distance from the settlement.†

A number of years later, the Indians of this town found themselves in danger of losing some of their lands through the encroachments of settlers. They complained of their wrongs, and, to the credit of the people of Farmington, their complaints met with consideration. The affair was brought before a town meeting, and an agreement was made [June 1st, 1673,] with the Indians. The latter re-

* Previous to 1836, Ledyard was a part of Groton, and previous to 1705 both these townships formed a portion of New London; so that the Mushantuxet Pequots were at one time called the New London Pequots, afterwards the Groton Pequots, and now the Ledyard Pequots.

† Colonial Records, Vol. I, pp. 294, 299, 303.

ceived goods to the value of three pounds: they were to retain their ancient reservation in Indian Neck: the two hundred acres on the other side of the river were to be bounded out to them; and they, on their part, ratified all the former agreements between the Tunxis and the settlers of Farmington. Twenty-six Indians signed this paper with their marks; among which we find the *totems* of Seocut and Nassahegon, both of them sachems in Windsor. This circumstance shows that the ancient connection between the tribes once living under Sequassen was still in some measure preserved.*

In 1659, Golden Hill, now containing some of the finest private dwellings in Bridgeport, or indeed in the State of Connecticut, was set off to "the Indians of Pequonack."† These Indians were a part of the Paugussetts, and, from the name of the place to which they now removed, afterwards became known as the Golden Hill Indians.

On the thirtieth of May, 1662, nine men and two women, of the Wangunk tribe, sold a tract of land, extending six miles on each side of the Connecticut River, and reaching from the straits down to Pattyquounck in the present township of Chester. The only reservations made were thirty acres of land at Pattyquounck and an island in the river called Thirty Mile Island. For this large tract, comprehending perhaps one hundred and fifty square miles, the Indians received thirty coats, worth it may be one hundred dollars. Two squaws, named Sepunnemoe and Towkishk, signed on the part of themselves and their children; a man named Turramuggus signed for himself and his son; and Unlaus Chiamugg and Nabahuit,

* Farmington Records. † Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 336.

signed for themselves alone. The other proprietors did not put down their marks, and were possibly absent, although they are distinctly mentioned in the deed as agreeing to the sale.*

About the year 1666, Nassahegon, sachem of Poquonnuc in Windsor, sold a tract of twenty-eight thousand acres to some persons acting as agents for that town.†

On the third of February, 1672, the same Nassahegon, in conjunction with Sepunnemoe and a number of others, sold all the territory yet remaining to the aborigines in Middletown and Chatham. The sale comprehended a tract extending six miles east of the Connecticut and as far west as the General Court of the colony had granted the bounds of the town. Three hundred acres were reserved in Chatham, and there was also another plot excepted which had been previously laid out for one Sawsean and his heirs. A few months after, [April 18th, 1673,] this sale was confirmed by five Indians who had not been present at the first agreement.‡

In October, 1673, the people of Wethersfield obtained a deed of a tract on the opposite side of the Connecticut, "five large miles east and west," and "six large miles north and south." The price and other conditions for which this deed was procured are not mentioned. It was signed by eight Indians, one of whom was a woman named Sarah Sasakonamo, another was the universal Nassahegon, and a third was one Powampskin, who, a few months before, had put his mark to the paper of confirmation at Middletown.§

* Haddam Records. † Papers on Towns and Lands, Vol. V, Doc. 9.
‡ Middletown Records. § Wethersfield Records.

On the sixteenth of April, 1669, a tract of some eight miles square, and fourteen miles up the Connecticut River, was sold to one William Lord, by a Mohegan named Chapeto. Chapeto stated in the deed, that he obtained his rights over this territory from Ananpau, his father, and Woncohus, his grandfather, "both of them sachems of Paugunt." The instrument is signed by the marks of Chapeto, of Maskoran his son, and of Uncas, the Mohegan sachem, who is styled in it his kinsman. The land was given for money, and no reservations were made except the right of fishing, hunting and cutting timber for canoes. Five years after, the same territory was deeded by an Indian called Captain Sannup, to John Talcott, John Allyn and Edward Palmer, "chiefly in consideration of past favors."* This tract could not have been within the country of the western Nehantics, for at the very time when Chapeto signed the above deed that tribe was governed by Attawanhood, the son of Uncas. In proof of this, we have a deed of Attawanhood's, dated February 19th, 1669, disposing of three hundred and thirty acres of land in Lyme for the consideration of thirty pounds of wampum.†

Governor Winthrop, having obtained liberty [June, 1659,] of the General Court of Connecticut to purchase a large tract on the Quinnebaug, bought it of two Nipmuck chieftains, one named Allups or Hyems, the other Mashaushawit.‡ This tract was subsequently erected into the township of Plainfield; and, as all this region was claimed by the Mohegans as their territory, the pur-

* Papers on Towns and Lands, Vol. V, Document 70.
† Lyme Records. ‡ Trumbull's Hist of Con. Vol I, p. 421.

chase was long afterwards made a ground of complaint by Oweneco against the colony.*

A tradition has been preserved in Killingly concerning a war which once took place between the Nipmucks of that town and the Narragansetts. The story is, that the Narragansetts having invited the Nipmucks to a feast of shell fish, the latter were so much pleased at the entertainment that they urged their hosts to come up in the spring and join them in a banquet of lampreys. At the appointed time a number of Narragansett warriors arrived in Killingly, and were courteously received by their entertainers. Logs were provided for seats; the fish were taken out of the kettles; each guest was furnished with a liberal allowance; and the Nipmucks were complaisantly preparing to enjoy their own politeness, when an incident occurred which marred all these prospects of pleasure. The lampreys had been cooked without dressing, and the Narragansetts, who were more fastidious than their inland neighbors, took such a disgust at this circumstance that they refused to eat. An embarrassing pause ensued, then words of dissatisfaction, and finally a furious quarrel. The Nipmucks, mortified at having brought their guests so far to partake of a feast which they could not stomach, gave vent to sneers and reproaches, to which the Narragansetts retorted with equal bitterness. At last, the former, forgetful of all the rites of hospitality, seized their weapons and attacked their guests, who, being unarmed, were overcome and slaughtered without difficulty. Two alone escaped the massacre by swimming the Quinnebaug, and after a rapid flight through the forests of Wind-

* At Dudley's court on the disputed Mohegan lands in 1705.

ham and New London counties brought the sad news to their homes.

The Narragansetts now raised a strong war party, and set out for the Nipmuck country to revenge the murder of their brethren. They marched up, on the western side of the Quinnebaug, till, when half a mile below the present village of Danielsonville, they discovered the Nipmucks on the other bank. The latter immediately advanced to attack the invaders; but being warmly received, fell back to their own side of the river, and dug a trench there to prevent the Narragansetts from forcing a passage. The Narragansetts also constructed a rude fortification, and both parties remained fighting in this position for three days. At the end of that time the invaders, finding it impossible to gain any advantage, left their dead behind them and retreated to their own country. The intrenchments raised on this occasion are still visible, and skeletons are sometimes found here which are said to be the remains of those who fell either in the battle or the massacre. The tradition adds another circumstance, much more remarkable but not quite so credible as the former, that owing to the turpitude of the above transaction, the earth around this spot was blasted by a curse, so that not a blade of grass would grow on the graves of the murdered Narragansetts.*

On the thirty-first of August, 1674, a committee appointed by the General Court purchased, for thirty-eight pounds, a tract of land at Mattatuck, now Waterbury. It lay upon both sides of the noisy little Naugatuc, running ten miles north and south, and measuring six miles east

* Barber's Hist. Coll. of Connecticut, p. 426.

and west. In 1684, another tract to the north of this, was sold by the natives for nine pounds; and thus nearly one hundred and eighty square miles more of Connecticut passed away from its original owners into the hands of the Anglo-Saxon.*

In 1671, the Wepawaug Fort at Milford, which had escaped the Mohawks in 1648, was destroyed at dead of night by eleven young men of the neighborhood. Their motives are now unknown; but it is probable that, like many lads of these less staid and sober days, they had a more acute appreciation of fun than of justice. The proprietors of the fort complained, and the perpetrators of the roguery being discovered, were sentenced by the General Court of New Haven colony to pay a fine of ten pounds. The Indians were appeased and afterwards rebuilt their fort.†

The sagamore of Milford at this time was Ansantawae, whose dominions seem to have extended as far north as the present township of Waterbury. On the other side of the river, Stratford, Bridgeport, Trumbull, Huntington and Monroe were ruled, at one time by Tountonemoe, afterwards by Ackenach, both sons of Ansantawae. I should infer from the Stratford records that Tountonemoe was the oldest son, and that he died about 1660 and was succeeded by Ackenach, whose name is sometimes spelt Ockenung or Ockenungo. The division of territories above mentioned is shown by the deeds of land which are preserved in the town books of Milford and Stratford. In Milford they are usually signed by the sagamore Ansantawae and his son Tountonemoe; in Stratford, by

* Barber, pp. 259, 260. † Lambert's Hist. of New Haven Colony, p. 130.

the sagamore Tountonemoe and his father Ansantawae. Sometimes, also, they have in addition the mark of Ackenach or Ockenung. In Milford, a considerable tract was sold in 1656 for twenty-six pounds; and three or four years subsequently, Indian Neck, lying between East River and the Sound, was disposed of for twenty-five pounds. The Indians made a reservation of twenty acres on the Neck, but sold it about a year after for six coats, two blankets and a pair of breeches. Ansantawae and his wife, with Tountonemoe and Ackenach, received liberty to settle, in case of danger, at some place in the town which the townsmen should then designate for them*

In 1660, 1663 and 1665, the Indians of Stratford sold various large tracts of land to the settlers of that township. In 1671, a number of them, for a consideration of twenty pounds of lead, five pounds of powder and twenty trading cloth coats, signed an agreement confirming all sales ever made by themselves or their ancestors. This act of confirmation was itself confirmed by other members of the tribe, some in 1684, and some in 1685. Among the signers in 1671, was a man named Shoran. This word has since been changed into Sherman, and is now the family name of the remnant of the Golden Hill Indians. In 1680, Ackenach, still styling himself sachem of Milford and Paugussett, complained to the General Court that he was in want of land. It was ordered that one hundred acres should be laid out for him; and "one hundred acres, more or less," were accordingly bounded off for this purpose on Coram Hill in Huntington. The Indians complained of it as rough and stony, and another

* Milford and Stratford Records.

committee was appointed to lay out the tract "according to the true intentions of the Court." It is to be hoped that this committee was more honest or more considerate than its predecessor.*

Various enactments were passed, during this period, for the regulation and protection of the Indians. In 1657, the Commissioners ordered that no company of them should come armed within a mile of any English settlement, and that no strange Indians should be received into such a settlement unless they were flying from their enemies. In 1659, when reports of a conspiracy against the colonies were rife, repeated acts of precaution were passed by the General Court of Connecticut. Indians were not allowed to live within a quarter of a mile of the towns; not allowed to bring guns into the towns on penalty of seizure; not allowed to entertain stragglers from other tribes.† Two years after, some of these restraints were removed, and the Tunxis and River Indians were expressly authorized to go armed through the towns when there were not more than ten of them in company.‡

As drunken natives used to prowl about the settlements, making attempts to get more liquor, and whooping, yelling and creating a disturbance from the effects of what they had already drank, all Indians were forbidden walking about the towns after nightfall, under penalty of a fine of twenty shillings, and a flogging of at least six stripes. In 1660, it was ordered that no person should take the property of an Indian for debt, without his consent, unless by legal authority.§ In 1675, persons who

* Stratford Rec. Col. Rec., Vol. III. † Col. Rec., Vol. I, pp. 350, 351.
‡ Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 375. § Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 375.

trusted Indians with goods were deprived by enactment of the right of appealing to the laws for their recovery.*

From the laws established for the benefit of the Indians it is an easy transition to the efforts made for their conversion and civilization. These were by no means so earnest and so long continued in Connecticut as in Massachusetts, nor were they attended by any thing like so remarkable results. The early labors of Eliot and his companions excited great enthusiasm in England; and in 1649, a missionary society was formed there, entitled "The Society for propagating the Gospel in New England." The funds raised were invested in lands yielding an annual income of five hundred pounds, which seems to have been faithfully expended in printing Eliot's bible and other works in the Indian language; in paying the salaries of several ministers and teachers; and in defraying other expenses incidental to a missionary enterprise. On the restoration of Charles II the charter was esteemed dead in law; but in 1661, the year following, a new one was granted. About this time, or perhaps a little after, Abraham Pierson, minister at Branford in Connecticut, began to preach to the Indians of that vicinity, and continued to do so for several years. It would seem, also, that he sometimes preached in other places, or else that there was another person of the same name who "ministered" to the Indians of Wethersfield. At least, we find in the records of the United Colonies for 1658, an order that six yards of cloth should be distributed out of the mission funds to the principal men of the Wethersfield Indians, as an encouragement to those who attended on

* Colonial Records, Vol. III.

Mr. Pierson and refrained from powwowing and from laboring on the Sabbath.* We are informed by another missionary of that day, that Mr. Pierson never met with any considerable success in his labors, and that his hearers continued to exhibit an averseness and a perverse contempt for the gospel.† He received, for several years, from the Society in England, an annual salary of thirty pounds, which in 1667 was reduced for some reason to fifteen pounds. Not very long after this he removed to the vicinity of New York, which of course brought his missionary labors among the Indians of Connecticut to a close.‡

A part of the funds of the Society, or Corporation, as it was sometimes called, seem to have been placed at the command and discretion of the colonial Commissioners. In 1660, therefore, they made a present of six coats to Cassasinamon, Hermon Garret, and their four assistants, "to reward them for their services in governing the Pequots, and to persuade them to attend on such means as should be used for bringing them to a knowledge of God." All Indians who would put out their children to "godly English" were also offered a coat every year, besides food and clothing for the children. A man named William Thomson was employed for some time, at an annual salary of twenty pounds, to instruct the Cassasinamon band of Pequots. In 1672, ten pounds of the Society's money were presented by the Court to the Commissioners from Connecticut, to be distributed by them among

* Hazard, Vol. II.

† Rev. James Fitch in a letter presented by Gookin. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 208.

‡ Ibid.

"sundry well-deserving Indians of the Pequots and thereabouts."*

Another missionary more remarkable than Pierson was James Fitch, the first minister of Norwich, a generous and kind-hearted man and a zealous Christian. But, although settled as early as 1660 in the vicinity of the Mohegans, he did not commence his labors among them till after Pierson had removed from Branford. In 1671, inquiries were made of Uncas and his son Oweneco, to ascertain whether they would listen to Mr. Fitch if he should come and preach at Mohegan. The sachems made no objection, and the fact of their favorable inclinations was reported to the General Court of Connecticut. This body sent word to the Mohegans, that it should certainly favor all those who received the Christian religion, and should regard with displeasure all who opposed and rejected it.† Not long after this, probably, Fitch commenced his ministrations.

The Mohegans at this time, as well as all the other Indians of Connecticut, were still heathen. They had little or no knowledge of the Christian religion; they still believed in their good and bad gods, their charms and incantations; and they continued to practice dances, powwowings, and their other ancient superstitions and ceremonies. Fitch at first met no opposition from either people or sachems, although their attendance was neither very regular nor very reverent. As the nature of Christianity, however, became more familiar to the Mohegans, and as its precepts were more forcibly pressed upon them, some began to be affected by the truth and others bitterly

* Hazard, Vol. II, pp. 435 530. † Colonial Records, Vol. II.

to oppose it. "Uncas and Oweneco," says Fitch, "at first carried it teachably and tractably, till they discerned that practical religion would throw down their heathenish idols and the tyrannical authority of the sachems. Then they went away and drew off their people, some by flatteries and some by threats, not allowing them to attend even outwardly." A few, however, in spite of the opposition of the sachems, and of a majority of the tribe, still clung to their teacher. With these individuals, Fitch commenced a regular series of religious meetings which continued for several years, although it is impossible to say how long. In 1674, they numbered thirty men and women, with a proportionable number of children. They had given up their ancient ceremonies, were acquainted with the principal doctrines of the Scriptures, and met together every Sunday to converse over what they had heard from their minister. Weebax, the principal man among them, was capable of teaching the others and of leading their devotions. The conversation of this man was so blameless that his worst persecutors were forced to respect and speak well of it. The same pleasing testimony is borne by Fitch concerning another of the company named Tuhamon. During one year, at least, the Society in England granted Fitch thirty-one pounds and ten shillings for his services, and his Indian hearers received ten pounds from the same benevolent source. They doubtless needed it, for, aside from their natural poverty as savages, they were now objects of abuse and persecution to their own countrymen. In order to encourage them and give them a fixed place of residence, Fitch himself presented them with about three hundred acres of

land, which he secured to them as long as they should remain firm in their affection to Christianity. This munificent gift excited the envy of the other Mohegans, and even Uncas and his sons for a time pretended to be the missionary's friends. Fitch was not deceived by their hollow professions, and declared in a letter to Gookin, written in 1674, that their appearance of friendship arose merely from feelings of selfishness and envy.*

The above is about all that is known of the labors of Fitch, or of the history of the little congregation which he collected. It is said that its numbers had increased to forty a short time before the breaking out of Philip's war. Many of the Mohegans took part in that contest, and from what we know of the usual influence of war on religion in a community, we may conclude that it considerably cooled the religious interest which existed in this little band.

Excellent people have sometimes tried to hope that Uncas was converted to at least a theoretical belief in the doctrines of Christianity. His religious character, however, was to make the best of it extremely doubtful, as some well-attested particulars will show. In 1674, Daniel Gookin and John Eliot, while on a missionary tour among the aborigines, came to a village of Christian Indians at Wabequasset in what is now the south-eastern part of Woodstock. The two clergymen spent a great part of the night with the principal inhabitants, praying, exhorting and singing psalms. There was one Indian present, a stranger, who took no part in the devotions, and for a long time remained silent. At last he rose and announced that he

* Gookin in Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, pp. 208, 209. Hazard, Vol. II, *passim*.

was a deputy of Uncas, sachem of Mohegan; aud that in his name he challenged a right to, and dominion over, this people of Wabequasset. "And," said he to the two ministers, "Uncas is not well pleased that the English should pass over Mohegan River to call *his* Indians to pray to God."

Gookin replied that Wabequasset was not subject to Uncas, but belonged under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. And no harm need be feared, he continued, were it otherwise; for the only object of the English in preaching to the Indians is to bring them to a knowledge of Christ, and suppress among them the sins of drunkenness, idolatry, powwowing, witchcraft and murder. Gookin told the messenger to report this answer to his master; and he no doubt meant it, in part, as a lecture to the sachem upon his own habits and character. This circumstance took place nine years before the death of Uncas, and when he was already an old man of probably seventy summers. In another passage, Gookin mentions the Mohegan sachem as "an old, wicked and willful man, a drunkard and otherwise very vicious," and tells us that he "had always been an opposer and underminer of praying to God;" and that he suspected him of being a great obstruction to the labors of Mr. Fitch.* Fitch also spoke of him very severely. In one of his letters, written in 1678, he calls him "a plotter of mischief," "a liar," "a murderer;" and accuses him of being a vilifier of rulers, laws and religion, and a great opposer of godliness among his own people.†

* Gookin. Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, pp. 191, 192.

† Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 33.

The only evidence that Uncas ever gave the slightest credence to the truth of Christianity is to be found in the following anecdote. In the summer of 1676, so severe a drouth prevailed in New England, that, in some places, the leaves and fruit fell from the trees as if it were autumn. The Mohegans applied to their powwows, and the powwows danced, and shouted, and howled; but all to no purpose. Uncas and some of his people finally went to Norwich, and laid the case before Mr. Fitch, whose character they respected much more than they loved his doctrines. "They were in great trouble," he said; "their crops were all spoiling; the powwows could do them no good; and they had concluded to apply to the God of the English." A fast was appointed in the settlement, to pray for rain, for the colonists were suffering even more than the Indians. The day of the fast was clear till towards sunset, after the religious services had closed, when a few clouds gathered on the horizon. The next day was cloudy, but no rain fell; and Uncas, with many of his people, came again to Mr. Fitch to lament about the weather. "If God should send rain, would you not say it was your powwows?" asked the minister. "No," replied Uncas; "we have done all we can, and it is of no use." Mr. Fitch then told him that, if he would make this declaration publicly before the Indians, they should see what God would do for them. Uncas accordingly made a speech to his followers, affirming that, if God should send them rain, it could not be in consequence of their powwowings, but must be ascribed to Mr. Fitch's prayers. The next day so copious a rain fell that the river rose more than two feet.*

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 251.

What the effect of this circumstance upon Uncas was, we are not informed; and the above affirmation is the only instance in which he is known to have expressed any kind of faith in the religious belief of the English.

We now come to the last great struggle of the native tribes of New England against the race of foreigners which was gradually crowding them out of the land of their fathers. Massasoit, sachem of the Pokanokets, was dead, and had been followed to the grave by Wamsutta, or Alexander, his eldest son. Wamsutta was succeeded by his brother, Metacom, or King Philip, a sachem whose proud spirit of independence, whose heroism, and whose misfortunes, have rendered him the most famous of all the New England aborigines. Philip formed no general league, no great conspiracy against the English; but he was smarting from humiliations inflicted upon himself and his brother; and, like most of his race, he looked with anger and dismay upon the steady progress of the foreigners in spreading over and occupying the country. The war on the part of the Indians was a war for freedom and existence, and when those were no longer possible, it became a war for revenge. It broke out in June, 1675, just about a century before the commencement of our own struggle for independence, and continued with uninterrupted fury until the autumn of 1676. It is not my design to give a history of this celebrated contest, but only to mention the part which was taken in it by the Indians of Connecticut.

Early in the struggle, Uncas was ordered to appear at Boston, and, by surrendering his fire-arms, give assurance that he would remain firm to the cause of the colonies.

The messengers returned, accompanied by Oweneco, the eldest son of Uncas, and by two of his brothers, probably Joshua, or Attawanhood, the third son, and Ben the fourth. They were attended by sixty warriors, and brought with them a number of guns. The two younger sachems remained at Cambridge as hostages, while Oweneco and his warriors marched, in company with a body of English, in pursuit of Philip, who had just made his escape from Pocasset Neck. They overtook and killed about thirty of the fugitives, but not being able to come up with the main body, and their provisions failing, the Mohegans separated from the English and returned home.*

The Pequots, like the Mohegans, throughout the whole contest continued faithful to the English. The other tribes of Connecticut mostly remained neutral, except that a few of the Nipmucks of Windham County joined Philip, and also the Podunks of East Windsor and East Hartford. The latter, it is said, assisted him with two hundred men; but this estimate rests entirely upon tradition, and is altogether too large to be worthy of the slightest credit. Probably the Podunks at this time could not have mustered more than sixty warriors.

In the fall of 1675, an expedition of one hundred and sixty Englishmen and Mohegans was sent from Connecticut, under Major Treat, to protect the settlements in the Massachusetts part of the valley of the Connecticut River. When Captain Lathrop, with his eighty or ninety young men, the flower of Essex County, was cut off by an ambuscade of several hundred of the enemy, they heard the noise of the battle and marched to his relief. Lathrop

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, pp. 94—98.

and his party had already fallen when they arrived; but they found Captain Mosely, who had hurried from Deerfield to assist him, closely and desperately engaged with the victorious enemy. Their unexpected onset decided this second battle, and the Pokanokets, Nipmucks, Pocomtocks and Norwootucks were driven from the field. Treat, with his soldiers, and his Mohegan allies, afterwards remained some time in this vicinity, protecting the scattered and terrified settlements from the attacks of the enemy. He relieved Springfield from an unexpected assault, although not till thirty houses and many out-buildings were burned, and the inhabitants had nearly given themselves up for lost. Shortly afterwards he assisted Hadley when suffering a similar attack, and, in conjunction with some Massachusetts troops, gave the assailants a severe defeat. They were so effectually routed indeed, that the main body of them forsook this part of the country, and retreated, as it was said, to the territories of the Narragansetts.*

A treaty of friendship had been extorted from this large tribe at the commencement of the war; but, as it had been obtained from them by compulsion, it was very indifferently kept. The English settlers in Rhode Island found that the young men of the Narragansetts went away on secret expeditions, and, after a while, came home wounded. They concluded very justly that they had been to assist Philip in attacking the English towns and fighting the English war parties. Now, when they received Philip's adherents into their country, and sheltered the old men, women and children, while the warriors

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, pp. 112—121

went out to burn, tomahawk and scalp, it was resolved that no further measures should be kept with so faithless and hostile a people. One thousand men were raised; and one hundred and fifty Mohegans and Pequots, commanded by Oweneco, and by Catapazet, the son of Hermon Garret, marched with the army to attack the Narragansetts. The expedition was completely successful, and, in the midst of winter, the Pequots had the pleasure of gazing on the flames of the Narragansett fortress, as the Narragansetts had gazed on the flames of theirs thirty-seven years before.*

Without a home, without provisions, driven from his country, his people perishing around him with cold and hunger, Canonchet, the brave sachem of the Narragansetts, the son of Miantinomo, refused to give up the contest, and affirmed that he would not surrender a Wampanoag nor the paring of a Wampanoag's nail. He maintained the war with his whole energy; and never had Philip been so prosperous, never had the English suffered so many disasters, as for several months after the battle in the Rhode Island swamp. Captain Pierce and Captain Wadsworth, each with fifty men, were "swallowed up," as a writer of those times vigorously expresses it; and village after village was burned, and the inhabitants either massacred, or compelled to fly long distances through the snow, sometimes in their night clothing. But the day of English vengeance soon came. In the spring Canonchet was obliged to make an adventurous expedition into his ancient country, to obtain corn for planting at the next harvest. He had reached a place called Seaconk, when

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, pp. 129—144.

Captain Denison, a skillful partisan leader of Connecticut, arrived in the vicinity with forty-seven Englishmen and eighty Pequot and Mohegan warriors. Canonchet was discovered and furiously pursued. The lock of his gun became wet as he was springing through a brook. This accident disarmed him, and when he was overtaken by a swift-footed Pequot he made no resistance. Others of the pursuers came up, and the Narragansett chief found himself the prisoner of men whom he had enraged by his desperate and persevering hostility. His courage failed him not in this hour of trial, and he bore himself in a manner worthy the chieftain of a powerful tribe. When his captors told him that they should put him to death, he replied: "It is well. I shall die before my heart is soft; before I have said any thing unworthy of Canonchet to say." He was carried to Stonington, and there executed in such a manner as would give each tribe of the warriors who were with Denison a share in the deed. The Mohegans of the party were led by Oweneco, and the Pequots, one part by Cassasinamon, the other by Catapazet. Cassasinamon's men shot the devoted sachem; the Mohegans beheaded and quartered him; the warriors of Catapazet kindled the fire on which his body was burned. His head was preserved by Denison as a trophy, and was sent to the magistrates of the colony.*

During the expedition in which Canonchet was taken, the English and their allies killed and captured nearly fifty of the enemy, some of whom were among the councilors and chief warriors of the Narragansetts. Other volunteer expeditions were equally successful, and during the spring,

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, pp. 163—169.

summer and fall succeeded in driving the offending tribe nearly out of its country. The Nehantics were alone suffered to remain undisturbed, because they alone had taken no part in the war. During 1676, two hundred and thirty-nine of the Narragansetts were, in this way, either killed or captured, fifty guns were taken, and one hundred bushels of corn were plundered. Yet not a single Pequot or Mohegan, and not a single volunteer from Connecticut, was either killed or died of his wounds. In one successful expedition one hundred and twelve Pequots were engaged.* In another, a large body of the enemy was surprised, and so many captives and so much plunder taken, that the Pequots and Mohegans insisted upon returning immediately home. On their march back they killed and took about sixty more. Among the prisoners of the Mohegans was an active young warrior, who had distinguished himself by his courage, and whom they demanded permission to put to death by torture. The English consented; "partly," says Hubbard, "lest their denial should disoblige their Indian friends of whom they had lately made so much use; partly that they might have ocular demonstration of the savage, barbarous cruelty of the heathen."† The young captive, unappalled by the dreadful fate which awaited him, stood up after the fashion of Indian warriors, and boasted his exploits. "I have shot nineteen English with my gun. I loaded it for a twentieth. I could not meet another and let it fly at a Mohegan. I killed him and completed my number. Now I am fully satisfied."

The Mohegans formed a circle, and placed the victim

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, pp. 169, 170, 215, 216. † Ibid, 223.

in the center where all could gaze upon his tortures. They deliberately cut round one of his fingers at the joint, where it united with the hand, and then broke it off. They cut, in a similar manner, another and another, until only the stump of the hand was left. The blood flowed in streams, sometimes spirting out a yard from the wounds. Some of the English wept at the horrid sight, but no one interfered. The victim shrunk not from the knife and showed no signs of anguish. "How do you like the war?" tauntingly asked his tormentors. "I like it well," he said; "I find it as sweet as Englishmen do their sugar." They cut off his toes as they had done his fingers, and then made him dance round the circle till he was weary. At last they broke the bones of his legs. He sank upon the ground, and sat in silence until they dashed out his brains.*

One of the most famous of the native adherents of the English was a Pequot, partly of Narragansett blood, called Major Symon. This man's physical strength and recklessness of danger were said to be truly astonishing. Fighting seemed to be his recreation. During the war he was seldom at home more than four or five days together, being engaged the rest of the time in warlike expeditions. It was reported that he had with his own hand killed or taken above threescore of the enemy. Once he came alone upon a band of hostile Indians as they lay at ease under a steep bank. He leaped down among them, killed some, put the rest to flight, and carried away prisoners. On another of his expeditions he fell asleep, and while sleeping, dreamed that Indians were

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, pp. 223—225.

coming upon him. He awoke with the dream, and getting up, discovered some of the hostile warriors approaching his resting-place. He presented his gun and they stopped: he then turned and made his escape, although he was very weary and his pursuers were numerous. Towards the close of the war he was traveling, with two other Indians and Thomas Stanton, to Seaconet. On their march they learned that some of the enemy were near by, upon which the three Indians left Stanton and went in search of them. They found the camp, but the warriors of the company were gone, and had left behind them only a few old men, women and children. These surrendered to Major Symon and his companions who led them away at a rapid pace. One old man was unable to keep up with the party, and was allowed to lag behind on his promising that he would follow. In the meantime the warriors had returned to camp; and, having taken up the trail, soon overtook the old man, and learned from him what had happened. They speedily came up with the three adventurous warriors, killed one of them and liberated the captives. Major Symon and his remaining companion stood at bay, and the former offered to fight any five of the assailants if they would lay aside their guns and use only their hatchets. They feared his strength and dexterity too much to accept the challenge, and advanced on him in a body. He fired upon them, and, rushing furiously forward, broke through their line and escaped, followed by his companion. After hostilities were over in Massachusetts, this Pequot Achilles joined an expedition against the Indians of Maine and New Hampshire, where for nearly two years more the flame of

war continued to smoulder on. No particulars of his achievements there, however, are known, nor whether he fell with the hatchet in his hand, or returned home to die in the midst of despised and detested peace.*

In August, 1676, Philip fell; and after this event the contest in the southern part of New England soon ceased. His struggle had been a noble one, but its results to his followers and supporters had been most disastrous. The Pokanokets were nearly exterminated. The Narragansetts were reduced to a small part of their former numbers. The remnants of the Pocomtocks, Nashuas, Nipmucks and other tribes of Massachusetts, mostly left their country and fled to the northward or westward.

President Stiles has left on record, in his Itinerary, a singular tradition concerning this war. It said that the report of the contest reached to the backwoods of Virginia and North Carolina, where some of the Pequots had fled, nearly forty years before, from the victorious settlers of Connecticut. Incited by a desire of revenge, the descendants of these refugees seized their arms, and set out on the long march for their ancient country. They had come as far as New York, when the news reached them that Philip and Canonchet were dead, and that the red men had been scattered like the dry leaves of autumn. Disheartened at the tidings, they relinquished their hope of vengeance and returned to their homes.

A number of the hostile Indians who had been taken prisoners during this war were allowed to take up their residence in some portions of Connecticut. Most of them were at first placed under Uncas, but were afterwards

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, pp. 246, 247.

withdrawn from his authority, and had three hundred acres of land assigned them in the fork of the Shetucket and Quinnebaug Rivers. In 1678, about thirty, chiefly heads of families, were living here, while others remained with Uncas, and others still were scattered among the Pequots. About this time one of the Shetucket band was murdered, and also seven other "surrenderers" who had been placed upon the farm of Mr. Fitch, the good Norwich minister. Uncas was strongly suspected of being the author of these misdeeds; but he professed utter ignorance of them, and suggested that they had been committed by some of the hostile Indians who were still ranging the woods. Mr. Fitch in particular was very suspicious of him, and in a letter to the General Court applied several severe epithets to the sachem; charged him with acting treacherously towards the "surrenderers," and declared that he was even "worse than before the war."*

Not long after the close of the contest died Attawanhood, the third son of Uncas, and sachem of the western Nehantics, leaving behind him a will which is preserved among the Indian papers at Hartford. This will was signed [March 10th, 1676,] by the sachem at his residence in Lyme, near Eight Mile Island in the Connecticut River. He was then, as the paper states, "sick of body;" and, as no later record exists of him, it is probable that this was his last and fatal illness. He left behind him two wives, two sons and one daughter. To his sons he gave a large tract, apparently northwest of Saybrook, with the condition that if one died it should go the survivor, and

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Documents 32, 33.

if both died, to their sister. He also left them forty acres at Podunk, and about half a mile square, situated within a tract which had, a little previously, been added to Hartford. These lands, if the two sons died, were to revert to his wives. The rest of his property was given away, in enormous tracts, to various white persons of Hartford, Saybrook and other places. Whole townships, as for instance, those of Windham, Mansfield and Canterbury, were included; a single grant covered a hundred thousand acres; and the whole line of lands reached eighteen miles north and south, and, in some places, eight miles east and west. The Indians who then resided on his territories he directed to leave them, and attach themselves to his father Uncas. His sons he desired to live near Saybrook; to be taught English by their mother; and, at the end of four years, to be placed at an English school. Thirty-five pounds which were owing to him by certain whites, as well as the rents of all the lands which he had left the boys, were to be expended in their support and education. He recommended his children earnestly to all his legatees, but more particularly to three whom he mentioned by name, Robert Chapman, William Pratt and Thomas Buckingham. For himself he left directions that he should be buried at Saybrook, in a coffin, and after the manner of the English.*

The war with Philip was the last contest in which the Indians of Connecticut were engaged against their own race, unless we except a few unimportant skirmishes among themselves, or with their ancient enemies, the Mohawks. One of the last inroads of this formidable

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 30.

people was in 1678, when a party of them appeared in the Mohegan country, and captured a number of that tribe among whom was a son of Uncas.*

During the whole period treated in this chapter, Uncas was selling and granting away the lands of his people with a lavishness which shows that, notwithstanding his cunning, he had a full share of that improvidence common to uncivilized men. The Norwich and New London records abound with deeds, conveying tracts, of usually from one to five or six hundred acres, to various persons of those towns. Some are signed by Uncas, some by Oweneco, some by both these sachems, and others have in addition the mark of Joshua or Attawanhood. In these deeds the sachems alledge various reasons for parting with the land: sometimes it is "out of love and affection for the grantee;" sometimes "on account of many benefits and kindnesses heretofore received;" sometimes for "a valuable consideration" now paid, or perhaps only promised. These grants often covered each other, often contradicted each other, and were the source of innumerable quarrels and litigations between the English and the Indians, and between the English and each other.†

The sachems at times complained, that advantage was taken of them when they were intoxicated, to beguile them out of lands which they never intended to part with. For this reason, in 1680, Oweneco made over all the lands which his father had given him on the Quinnebaug to his loving friend, as he calls him, James Fitch of Norwich. As a reason for the act he states, in the deed,

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 37.

† See Norwich and New London records, *passim*

that some of the English extorted land from him by their importunities, and others by inducing him to sign papers when he was under the influence of strong liquors.* James Fitch was a son of the good minister at Norwich, who seems to have possessed the confidence and respect of all the Mohegans, although his religious teachings were only attended to by a part of them. The partiality which the Indians bore to the father they transferred to the son, and he continued to be, for a long time, one of the principal advisers of the tribe.

The numerous deeds above mentioned, with various other land transactions, were finally involved in an important law suit which arose between the Mohegans and the colony, and, continuing more than seventy years, puzzled some of the wisest heads in New England and the mother country. As this controversy will occupy an important space in the subsequent narration, it will be worth while to obtain here, if possible, a clear view of the events from which it arose.

I have already mentioned the deed of 1640. The next important circumstance connected with Mohegan lands occurred in 1659. A tract of nine miles square was then sold for the township of Norwich, for which the Mohegan sachems, Uncas and his sons, received seventy pounds. This sale was made with the consent of John Mason, who was himself one of the settlers of Norwich, and who for many years had been regarded by the Mohegans as their especial friend and adviser.†

During the same year, Uncas and Wawequa, in the presence of witnesses, deeded all the rest of their lands,

* New London Records. † Towns and Lands, Vol. VI, Doc. 159.

without exception, to Mason, to his heirs and to his assigns forever.* There can be no doubt of this circumstance; but two contradictory constructions have been placed upon it, and both are supported by probabilities. The Indians seem to have thought that they had simply placed their property under the protection or trusteeship of Mason, who was wiser than themselves, and who knew how to deal with the English and the English law.† The same view was also supported by Mason's descendants, and by all those who advocated the cause of the Mohegans in their suit against the colony. On the other hand, Connecticut and those who favored her side of the question maintained that the deed was obtained by Mason as the commissioned agent of the colony, and that the object of it was to extinguish whatever remaining title to their lands the Mohegans might have possessed. In proof of this they refer to an entry in the Colonial Records, showing that on the twenty-fourth of March, 1660, Mason, then deputy governor of Connecticut, surrendered to the colony that "jurisdiction power" over the Mohegan lands which he had obtained in the previous year from Uncas and Wawequa.‡ In this deed of surrendry, however, he reserved to himself land enough for a farm, and the right, also, of laying out according to his

* Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 359; Mohegan Petition.

† Oweneco, in 1710, protested against the deed being held of any force; declaring that it was given while his father was besieged by the Narragansetts, with the understanding that it was to be used only if his enemies conquered him; otherwise to be burned. If this statement is true, it throws a deep stain upon the character of two men, John Mason and Rev. James Fitch, in whose honesty and honor I choose to believe rather than in the veracity of Oweneco.

‡ Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 359.

own choice the various settlements which should be made in the district. This certainly looks as if the land no longer belonged to the Mohegans; and yet this last condition is, it must be confessed, a very extraordinary one to be made by a mere agent. Mason was still considered as the guardian of the Indians both by themselves and the English authorities. The proof of the former is that in 1661 and 1665, Uncas, Oweneco and Attawanhood confirmed the grant which had formerly [1659] been made to Mason by Uncas and Wawequa.* The latter seems to be sufficiently proved by various dealings of the colony concerning land with the Mohegans, and by various passages in the history of its subsequent legal contest with them.

What Mason's opinions of his rights over the Mohegan lands were, at a late period in his life, may be gathered from an important act of his in 1671. He was then old, being in the seventy-second year of his age; and fearing that, after his death, the Mohegans might be wronged by unscrupulous men, he determined to secure to them a tract of land so that it should be theirs forever. He accordingly drew up, and signed, a deed, making over to the tribe a large district, and entailing it to them as inalienable by grant or sale.† Notwithstanding the evidently benevolent intentions of Mason in this transaction, it is not difficult to bring up doubts as to the propriety of his conduct. If the Mohegan property had truly been

* Mohegan Petition.

† Mohegan Petition. This paper is continually mentioned in the records of the "Mohegan Case," and neither its existence nor its authenticity once disputed.

trusteed to him, what right had he to content himself with giving back to its owners only a small part of it? If it was not trusteed, but sold or granted to him, and if he had made it over to the colony, as the records seem to prove, what right had he to return and entail any part of it at all?

On this entailed tract, however, usually called the "Sequestered Lands," the Mohegans remained unmolested till Mason's death, which took place some time in the following year. From that time till 1680, various encroachments are alledged to have been made by the neighboring whites; and, in spite of the articles of entailment, various sales and grants were executed, and recorded on the town books of Norwich and New London.* It was during this period that Attawanhood died and willed away those extensive tracts which have already been described. Attawanhood never could have possessed the whole of this enormous territory: his grants covered many of the grants of Mason and of the Mohegan sachems, and this will introduced a new element of litigation into the already interminable confusion of land claims.

Some drunken Indians having set fire to, and destroyed the Norwich jail, Uncas and Oweneco were called on to make up the loss, which they did, very unwillingly, by passing over to the town [1679] six hundred acres of land. The tract was sold to English purchasers, and brought forty pounds, of which ten pounds were given back to Uncas and the remainder placed in the town treasury.†

This large loss and the encroachments which Uncas

* See Norwich and New London Records, the early volumes.

† Colonial Records, Vol. III.

believed were being made upon him by towns and individuals, alarmed him for his territories. He applied to the General Court of Connecticut, asking that a line might be run between Mohegan and Norwich, and that the bounds of his land might be marked out and recorded.* The Court assented; and ordered that the people of New London also should come to a decision about their boundary line, and, in conjunction with Uncas and his men, should mark it out as soon as possible. The sachem was first, however, obliged to consent to a league or agreement of which the substance is here given.

I, Uncas, sachem of Mohegan, promise for myself, my people and all my successors, to be friendly to the people of Connecticut, and if I or any of my tribe do them an injury, to repair it. I give up all my lands to the jurisdiction of the colony, and will dispose of them in no other way than the governor and deputies shall please. These lands shall be distributed into farms and villages as the General Court shall determine; and I, on the other hand, am to receive compensation for them, accordingly as we shall then agree. I confirm all grants that I have ever made of Mohegan lands. I promise to do no evil to the colony, nor to conceal any that is proposed to be done to it by others. I promise to take advice of the General Court in all matters of importance, especially in making peace or war and contracting leagues; and I will make no league with any people at enmity with the colony. Finally, I bind myself to assist the colony, when necessary, with a competent number of warriors in the manner which the government shall deem most expedient.†

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 39. † Mohegan Petition.

In return the Court promised to receive Uncas, his people and his descendants under its protection, then and forever. If they kept the articles mentioned above, no harm should be done to them; and, if they were wronged in any manner by the English, the Court would grant them satisfaction. Whatever plantations were laid out on the lands of the Mohegans, the latter should always have a sufficiency to live on, and should receive a just price for what was taken. Lastly, if Uncas was attacked, the authorities of Connecticut would advise him to the best of their ability, would furnish him with ammunition at a fair price, and do whatever might be consonant with the peace of the colony for his protection.*

Thus matters were settled for the present; neither of the parties, it will be observed, paying any regard to the entailment of Mason. One can hardly help smiling at the munificence of our ancestors in promising good advice to Uncas in return for his armed assistance. It would not have been worth while, indeed, for the colony to involve itself in a war for the sake of the Mohegans; but, on the other hand, a promise ought not to have been exacted from the Mohegans to peril their lives for the sake of the colony. Such is a very brief account of the Mohegan lands down to the death of Uncas, as I have been able to gather it from the various authorities.

Uncas died in 1682 or 1683; the precise date as well as the circumstances of his death being unknown. This sachem had seen stranger events and greater changes than perhaps had been witnessed by all his ancestors since the day that they first set foot on this continent. He could

* Mohegan Petition.

remember when throughout all New England the red man ruled supreme, his power unchecked and unshared by any other member of the human race; and he had lived to see the time when a new people, strange in appearance and garb, and wonderful in wisdom, was spreading over the same land, and when the tribes of the forest were fading away before it, as the light of the stars grows dim at the rising of the sun.

The land now possessed, or, at least, claimed by the Mohegans, consisted chiefly of three tracts, each of very considerable dimensions. The first, where the Indians themselves mostly resided, lay between New London and Norwich, and measured more than eight miles in length by four in breadth. Another stretched along the north boundary of Lyme, measuring nine miles in length by two in breadth, and resting at its western extremity on the Connecticut River. A third, usually styled the Mohegan Hunting Grounds, lay between the townships of Norwich, Lebanon, Lyme, Haddam and Middletown.* The other tracts were smaller, and it is impossible to tell where they were all situated, although it is certain that considerable quantities of land were still held by the Mohegans in the county of Windham.†

Hermon Garret and his son, Catapazet, being both dead, the Pequots of that band were now living under the government of an Indian named Mamoho. After many unavailing petitions, after being settled in Rhode Island and again broken up, they had at last obtained a home; and in 1683 two hundred and eighty acres of land had

* Mohegan Papers. Middletown then comprehended Chatham.
† Plainfield Records.

been marked out for them in Stonington on the spot where their descendants live at the present day. From the small size of this reservation it seems probable that the band itself was small; and it is pretty certain that a part of it remained in Rhode Island under the rule of a daughter of Ninigret, who was somewhat known about this time as the squaw-sachem.*

The Pequots of New London were still governed by Cassasinamon, with the help of an assistant named Daniel, first appointed to this post in 1667. These Pequots were now living at a place called Mushantuxet, situated in the ancient township of New London, and in the modern one of Ledyard. They possessed upwards of two thousand acres of land here, and still made use of the neck at Nawyonk from whence they had removed in 1667. They planted chiefly at Mushantuxet, but went down to Nawyonk to fish and to hunt for fowl.

The territories of the western Nehantics at this time must have been nearly gone, and it is doubtful whether they had any land left which they could call their own. Some of the tribe, doubtless, had followed the injunctions of Attawanhood in his will, and joined themselves to the Mohegans. Others, however, remained in their ancient country, and continued to reside there, on sufferance, until they were furnished with a small reservation by the town of Lyme.

The Wangunks, the Tunxis, the Indians of New Haven, Milford, Stratford and other places, were all living on reservations, mostly small, which had been made for them at the respective sales of their lands.

* Hazard, Vol. II; Colonial Records, Vol. III.

The independent and roving existence of the Indians had ceased, and they were now little more than the subjects and tenants of the white men. They were no longer, it is true, under the fear of hostile war parties; but they were restrained by the fences, by the bounds, and by the enactments of the settlers. Universal poverty prevailed among them, as it had indeed always done; but, unlike the days of olden time, this poverty had now become degraded and degrading through its contrast with surrounding wealth and comfort. I doubt whether any community in the world is so debased as a barbarous people in which the independence of a free savage life has been lost and is succeeded by a sense of inferiority and a feeling of despair. Without hope, without ambition, debarred from even the excitement of war, they sink into a state of stupid listlessness, and think only of enjoying the present by an unrestrained indulgence in brutalizing pleasures. They become more indolent than ever, while their means of subsistence have diminished; they indulge in intemperance as far as their resources and opportunities will allow; and, if they were ever licentious, their licentiousness is now vastly increased. Such at this time was the case with the Indians of Connecticut, as far as the records of those days enable us to form any judgment of their condition. Preserved in the manuscripts of President Stiles, we have a most singular account of the loose state of morals which existed among the remnants of the Narragansetts. This account was written, it is true, eighty years later, when the Indians had probably become still more degraded; but I have little if any hesitation in believing, that the same state of things had already begun

to exist at the period of which we are now speaking. In 1761, while President Stiles was traveling in Rhode Island, he fell in with a Narragansett named John Paul, and made some inquiries of him concerning the morals of his countrymen. John Paul was very communicative, and spoke of the subject without reserve. From his account it would seem, that the morals of the Indians were very corrupt before the arrival of the English; that, although a strong prejudice against illegitimate births existed, it did not prevent prostitution, and only produced abortion and infanticide; and that these last customs being broken up by the influence of the whites, all reserve was thrown aside and the Indians became openly and shamelessly licentious. No restraint of virtue or decency prevailed: the young men hesitated not to speak, even before their parents, of their unlawful amours: the young women hesitated not to receive presents for their shame, and even to take them openly and by force when they were not given. John Paul made not only general statements, but mentioned individuals and pointed out localities, all confirmatory of his melancholy story. Now, it is notorious that the form of vice here mentioned, especially when carried to such excess, is productive of both sterility and disease. Is it wonderful that communities so licentious, and, added to this, so indolent and drunken, should not increase? that they should even rapidly decline?

The assertion of this Narragansett with regard to the state of morals among his people before the arrival of the English must be received with some allowance for exaggeration. Favored by the testimony of several of the early New England writers, it is contradicted by others,

and stands in opposition to the general character of the native North American race. But, nevertheless, it lends weight to other circumstances which tend to prove that the morals of the Indians were, even at the first, far from being altogether pure. To this belief we may add the certainty that they steadily changed for the worse as the native tribes lost their wild independence and became impregnated with the vices of civilization. These circumstances would not be worthy of so much space as I have given in various places of the present volume, did not a knowledge of them assist in explaining the decline of the Indian population, not in Connecticut simply, but throughout the United States.

As to the religious state of the Indians, we have seen that a few of them, at Mohegan, had become at least theoretical converts to the Christian faith. The remainder were still heathen; believing, not perhaps in all their ancient deities, but at least in some of them; and asserting that, while the English were bound to worship the English God, the Indians were equally bound to worship and serve the Indian gods.

Concerning the numbers of the Indians in Connecticut at this time, we have, in an account of the colony drawn up by the General Court in 1680, an estimate which puts them at five hundred warriors.* This estimate, which would give a total of some twenty-five hundred individuals, is a further proof of the extreme paucity of the aboriginal population of the State. It was now only fifty years since the first European settlement was begun in Connecticut, at which time the Indians, according to

* Chamler's Political Annals, p. 308.

Trumbull, numbered twelve or sixteen and possibly twenty thousand. To suppose that so great a diminution as this would imply had taken place in so short a time, is not only incredible, but even worthy of ridicule. The question then arises as to which of the two estimates is most worthy of our dependence. This will not require very long consideration. The estimate of 1680, was a cotemporary one, was made by the representatives of the colony, and was made, too, when the whole country had been examined and the condition of every tribe was tolerably known. The estimate of Trumbull was made more than one hundred and fifty years after the period to which it related; and, while it was founded, in great part, upon tradition, was built up with assumptions and guess-work: assumptions very unwarranted, and guess-work of an exceedingly poor quality.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF THE MOHEGANS FROM THE DEATH OF UNCAS TO THE CLOSE OF THE COURT ON THEIR DISPUTED LANDS IN 1743.

On the death of Uncas all unity which our subject ever possessed entirely disappears. From this time the respective histories of the Tunxis and Mohegans, of the Wepawaugs and Pequots, have but little more connection than if those neighboring tribes had lived in opposite quarters of the globe. To prevent the remainder of the narrative, therefore, from becoming a mere jumble of disconnected events, I shall divide it into five sections, without regard to the order of time. The present chapter will trace the history of the Mohegans down to the close of the Commissioners' Court on the disputed lands of the tribe in 1743. The ninth and tenth chapters will follow the fate of the western and northern tribes from the same starting point down to the present time. The eleventh will do the same by the Pequots, and the twelfth will close the history of the Mohegans.

War had now ceased between the different tribes, but other causes for reducing the population arose which more than equalled it in destructiveness. Game grew less abundant, and the fish began to disappear from the rivers. Now. too, ardent spirits, which at first had been scarce

and dear even among the whites, became more plentiful and found their way to the lips of the Indians. Intemperance is destructive of the happiness of civilized communities, but it is destructive of the life of savage ones. Laws and penalties, as we have seen and shall see, were repeatedly enacted against providing the Indians with liquor, and were sometimes, if not often, carried into effect. Still they did not accomplish their object: the temptation on both sides was too great: the traders were too fond of money, and the Indians were too fond of rum. They drank more and more, and the vice finally involved both sexes and almost all ages in its absorbing and pestiferous influence.

Oweneco succeeded without opposition to his father, and seems to have inherited all his dignities and perogatives. Of his three brothers, one, at least, Attawanhood, or Joshua, was already dead. Of the other two, John, the eldest, died before Oweneco, and probably before Attawanhood; while Ben outlived them both, and ultimately succeeded to the sachemship. One day, as Uncas was talking with Thomas Stanton about his children, he observed that the three eldest were legitimate; but as for Ben he was *poquiom*, or half-dog, the mother being a poor, beggarly squaw, not his wife. It was matter of report, however, among both Indians and whites, that Ben's mother was the daughter of Foxon, who, as we have seen, was a man of considerable consequence among the Mohegans.*

I have already noticed that Attawanhood left three children, assigning to them a considerable quantity of

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 173, p. 57.

land for their maintenance. These lands, it would seem, were very unprofitable, or else the proceeds of them were not applied to the purpose for which they were intended. In 1683, about four years after the father died, only one of these children, Abimelech, was living; yet his guardians applied to the Court of the colony for assistance towards his support.*

The first object of Oweneco on receiving the sachemship seems to have been to secure his tribe in the perpetual possession of their lands. To this course he was doubtless urged by Daniel and Samuel Mason, who, like their father, John Mason, were high in favor with the Mohegans, and advised them on all important occasions. Under their direction, probably, the following paper, dated March 16th, 1684, was drawn up, and was signed by Oweneco with his *totem* or mark:

"Know all men whom it doth or may concern that I, Oneco, sachem of Mohegan, have and do, by these presents, pass over all my right of that tract of land between New London town bounds and Trading Cove brook unto the Mohegan Indians for their use to plant, that neither I, nor my son, nor any under him, shall at any time make sale of any part thereof; and that tract of land shall be and remain forever for the use of the Mohegan Indians and myself and mine, to occupy and improve for our mutual advantage forever, as witness my seal and mark." Oweneco's mark.†

A few weeks after, fearing, as he said, that he might be ensnared in drink and induced to make injudicious sales, the sachem trusteed his lands to Samuel and Daniel

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 40. † Norwich Records.

Mason, as his father and uncle had, in 1659, granted them to John Mason.* From this time these two men were recognized as their guardians by the Mohegans; often, however, acting in conjunction with James Fitch, to whom Oweneco had trusteed [December 22d, 1680,] his own private lands on the Quinnebaug.† In 1689, Oweneco made a confirmation of the above instrument to Daniel Mason alone. Samuel Mason, however, still acted in the same capacity, and was more noted as the friend and defender of the tribe than his brother.‡

Without the limits of the territory which he had thus reserved to his tribe, Oweneco still sold land, apparently whenever and wherever any one chose to purchase. At one time he conveyed to James Fitch a tract west of the Quinnebaug River estimated at six or seven miles in length by one in breadth. At another time he made over to him a tract north of the township of Norwich, of uncertain length, but of a mile and a half in breadth. Other parcels of similar magnitude were added; the price of the whole, it would seem, being only sixty pounds. James Fitch appears to have been a different man from his father, the minister; his nature inclining him far more strongly to the acquisition of land than to the giving of it away. The above tracts are but a portion of the lands recorded to him in the Norwich records; and in 1696, he attempted to possess himself of others in a manner which, with the light we have at present upon it, appears dishonest and mean. He was, at that time, the town clerk of Norwich, and he took the opportunity afforded by his

* New London Records, Vol. VI. † Plainfield Records.
‡ History of Norwich, p. 159.

office, to record a large tract of land between the Quinnebaug and Shetucket Rivers to himself. What claim he could alledge is now unknown; but whatever it was, the tract thus summarily disposed of covered nearly the whole of the three hundred-acre reservation which had been set apart for the "surrenderers," or Shetucket Indians. The town protested against the record, and Mr. Fitch was probably obliged to resign his claim. Other persons, however, had trespassed upon the reservation, and it is likely that the Indians were already deprived of a considerable portion of it.*

On May, 24th, 1685, the General Court granted to Lyme a tract lying north of that township, nine miles in length by two in breadth. This had hitherto been claimed by the Mohegans; and long afterwards they asserted, in their petitions to the crown, that for this large tract they had never received any remuneration whatever.†

In addition to the grants and sales mentioned above, Oweneco gave [1687] a deed of the country between Stonington and Norwich to a number of whites, for the sum of fifty pounds, to be paid in four annual installments.‡ Another tract parted with in 1692, measured five miles square, and, like the above, was granted to several persons, among whom was Samuel Mason.§ Between 1698 and 1706, the Mohegan sachem parted with four considerable plots of ground, which were afterwards united into the large township of Lebanon. In 1699, Colchester was bought by one Nathaniel Foot, who acted as agent on behalf of a company of purchasers.‖ If we may believe

* History of Norwich, pp. 165, 166. † Mohegan Petition.
‡ Papers on Towns and Lands, Vol. IV, Document 223.
§ Norwich Records. ‖ Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 48.

the subsequent petitions of the Mohegans, this purchase was effected in a manner by no means honest: Oweneco being in liquor at the time, and the only consideration given by Foot being some five or six shillings.* The settlers, however, may have acted on the ground that the Mohegan country was already justly the property of the colony. This purchase took in nearly all of what were called the Mohegan Hunting Grounds, and the town grant was enlarged soon after so as to comprehend them entirely; but this last act, it is probable, was not intended to extinguish the Indian right. A quarrel arose, doubtless on account of these transactions, between the Mohegans and the settlers of Colchester, and each inflicted petty insults and injuries upon the other. Daniel Mason took the part of the Indians, and so excited the wrath of the townsmen, that, as he was riding through Colchester one day, some of them threatened to shoot his horse under him.†

Another quarrel took place, about the same time, between the Mohegans and the town of New London. The citizens, it seems, passed a vote taking under their jurisdiction all the land between the northern limits of their township and the southern limits of that of Norwich. The Mohegans were alarmed, fancying that by this act the whole of their entailed lands were taken away from them. They complained to the General Court, which ordered an investigation of the case at New London, and had the chiefs summoned there to support their own cause. Oweneco, his brother Ben, and his son Mamohet, styling

* Mohegan Petition.

† Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 52. Towns and Lands, Vol. I, Documents 76, 77.

themselves sachems of the Mohegans, made answer to the summons in a letter written by their friend Daniel Mason. They complained of the various encroachments made upon them, and, among others, of two large farms laid out, by order of the colony, for John Winthrop and Gurdon Saltonstall upon the entailed lands. They objected to going to New London, saying that they could see no use in it; that, besides, they were afraid to go lest some of the people there should kill them; and that, if they should send a faithful friend who would boldly defend them, he would be in the same danger: instancing in support of their fears the violent language which had been used towards Daniel Mason by the citizens of Colchester.*

The selectmen of New London quieted the difficulty by making a declaration, that, in extending the limits of their township over the Mohegan territory, they had no intention of infringing upon the rights of the Indians, but considered that they held the same claim to their lands as before.†

But the dissatisfaction of the Mohegans still continued respecting the territory which they had lost in Colchester. They acknowledged indeed that this land had been purchased, but they asserted that the manner of the purchase was illegal and its terms unfair: illegal, because made without the consent of Mason their overseer; unfair, because Oweneco was intoxicated at the time, and because the price paid bore no proportion to the value of the property.‡ Nicholas Hallam, a strong friend of the Mohegans, drew up a petition enumerating all their wrongs,

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 52. † Towns and Lands, Vol. I, Doc. 137.
‡ Mohegan Petition.

and presented it to Queen Anne.* A commission was issued [July 29th, 1704,] for the trial of the case, and twelve commissioners were appointed, at the head of whom was Joseph Dudley, Governor of Massachusetts. Dudley was in private life an estimable man; a lawyer, a scholar, a gentleman and a Christian. He was, however, stigmatized as the tool of Sir Edmund Andross, and was long regarded as the bitter enemy of the colony of Connecticut. The commissioners were empowered to restore the Mohegans their lands, if it appeared that they had been unjustly taken away; yet their decision was not irrevocable: an appeal might be had to the crown. The court was appointed at Stonington; the Commissioners met; and the Governor and Company of Connecticut, with all persons holding lands claimed by the Mohegans, were summoned to appear. In reply, the government of the colony appointed a committee with the following instructions: if the court was simply to act as a court of inquiry, they were to defend the cause of the colony and show the unreasonableness of the Mohegan claims; if the design of the court appeared to be to decide definitely upon the case, they were to enter a protest and withdraw. They of course protested, and their protest was founded on the assertion that the crown had no right to issue such a commission, it being contrary to a statute of Charles I, and to the charter of Connecticut.† All subjects of the colony were likewise forbidden to present themselves before the court, or in any other manner to acknowledge its authority. Thus no defendants appeared to support their case, and Oweneco and his friends Mason

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 55. † Trumbull, Vol. I, p. 444.

and Hallam had the testimony and the pleading all to themselves. A survey of the original Mohegan country just made under the direction of the plaintiffs was brought forward, and compared with the pittance of land which now remained to the tribe.* The tract thus laid down comprehended what may be roughly described as the northern two-thirds of New London County, and the southern two-thirds of Windham and Tolland Counties, comprehending not far from eight hundred square miles. It was not claimed, however, that the Mohegans ought now to possess all this territory, but only that portion which they had remaining to them when the last treaty was made [1680] between Uncas and the colony. The Commissioners went over the circumstances by which, in a space of twenty-two years, the Mohegans had been deprived of land measuring, as they said, more than forty square miles, almost without receiving any compensation at all. They referred to an enactment of the colony by which Daniel Mason was acknowledged as trustee of the Indian lands, and pointed out the number of grants which had been made of those lands, some by Oweneco, some by the colony, without the concurrence of Mason. The decision was then pronounced, that the Governor and Company of Connecticut should replace the Mohegans in possession of all the lands which they held at the death of Uncas. These consisted of three tracts: one of twenty thousand acres, lying between New London and Norwich; one of eighteen square miles on the northern bounds of Lyme; and one which comprised the township of Colchester. A bill of costs was filed against the colony of

* Mohegan Petition.

£573 12*s.* 8*d.* Oweneco and Ben Uncas thanked the Commissioners for their decision, expressed their complete satisfaction with it, and begged that their acknowledgements might be sent to the Queen for her kind care over the Mohegans. Oweneco next requested that, as Samuel Mason who had acted as their guardian was lately deceased, his nephew, John Mason of Stonington, might be appointed in his place. John Mason was accordingly appointed guardian to Oweneco and his people, with authority to manage all their affairs. Other complaints were now brought forward concerning other tracts of land: one north of Windham; one called Plainfield; some in Lebanon, and some in Canterbury. The court prohibited all her majesty's subjects from entering upon or improving any of these lands, until a further hearing and decision should be had concerning them. An account of the proceedings, and of the complaints still lying against Connecticut, was then drawn up for the crown, and the court adjourned.*

Connecticut appealed against the decision, and, on the fifteenth of February, 1706, the queen granted a commission of review. John Mason, now the guardian of the Mohegans, fell into a low state of health, so as for several years to be confined to his house. The government of Connecticut had little interest in prosecuting the affair, and thus the commission was never used.† The colony appointed a committee to treat with Oweneco; but such were the sachem's demands, that the governor rejected them, and the attempt fell through.‡ Mason soon found

* Mohegan Petitions. See Trumbull, Vol. I, pp. 443, 447, for his account of this trial. † Mohegan Petition. ‡ Colonial Records, Vol. IV.

himself involved in difficulties, partly through the already confused state of the Mohegan lands, and partly through his own carelessness or dishonesty in deeding the same tracts to different persons. In 1711, therefore, he resigned his guardianship to William Pitkin and five others, while the colony granted the new overseers lands valued at one thousand pounds, to be laid out in settling with the different claimants.* Grants were still made with true Indian heedlessness by Oweneco, as we find by the records of the neighboring towns. Several of them, too, were without the supervision of the overseers and without any consideration in return. It is very likely that some, if not all, of these last were obtained from the sachem, either while he was intoxicated, or by teasing and importuning him when he was sober. His conduct in parting with so much territory, in a manner so reckless and unthinking, excited some opposition among his people. Ben Uncas and fifty-four other Mohegans signed a paper [May, 1714,] and had it recorded in the town books of New London, affirming that Oweneco had wrongfully sold a great part of their lands, and declaring that they consigned what was left to Gurdon Saltonstall, Captain John Mason, Joseph Stanton, Colonel William Whiting and John Elliot.†

One of the deeds granted by Oweneco reflects no great honor upon his character for sobriety. Being very drunk one night, he fell out of a canoe and would have been drowned, had not two settlers, named John Plumb and Jonathan King, pulled him senseless out of the water.

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 126.

† New London Records.

For this service Oweneco gave John Plumb one hundred acres of land.*

Oweneco died in 1715, aged, it is probable, about seventy or seventy-five years. The brave warrior who, in his youth and early manhood, fought gallantly against the Pocomtocks, the Pokanokets and Narragansetts, became in his old age a mere vagabond. With his blanket, his gun, his squaw, and a pack on his back, he used often to wander about the settlements adjacent to Mohegan. At his old friends and acquaintances he was generally made welcome, and established himself, during his stay, in the kitchen or some of the out-houses. To strangers, who were unable to understand his imperfect English, he sometimes presented a doggerel petition which had been written for him by a settler named Bushnell.

"Oneco, king, his queen doth bring,
To beg a little food;
As they go along his friends among
To try how kind, how good.

"Some pork, some beef, for their relief,
And if you can't spare bread,
She'll thank you for pudding, as they go a gooding,
And carry it on her head."

The last line refers to an Indian mode of carrying burdens, by a *metomp*, or bag, hanging down the back, and supported by a strap passing over the forehead.†

Oweneco had three sons, Josiah, Mamohet, (or, as the English settlers usually called it, Mahomet,) and Cesar. Josiah and Mamohet died before their father, and Mamo-

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 53.
† History of Norwich, p. 170.

het, the son of Mamohet, being still a child, his uncle Cesar, on the death of Oweneco, assumed the sachemship.*

Cesar's reign was equally disturbed with his father's by land disputes between his tribe and the colony. The Mohegans were on the point of again applying to the crown, when the General Court appointed a committee empowered to hear and settle the complaints of the Indians, and to remove all persons from the lands who held them by no legal right. This committee, Messrs. Wadsworth and Hall, examined the case at Mohegan, and decided [1721] substantially in favor of the white claimants. They allowed nearly all of the English claims which were presented; assigned the Hunting Grounds to Colchester; the tract stretching from the Niantic to the Connecticut to Lyme, and three-quarters of the Sequestered Lands† to the various persons who had obtained deeds of them. Between four and five thousand acres which remained were granted to the Mohegans, and were entailed in their possession as long as a single one of them should remain in existence.‡ This decision was ratified by the government of Connecticut, and thus ended the proceedings resulting from the complaint which Hallam had presented seventeen years before to the crown.

Few records remain concerning the Mohegans, during the period over which we have now passed, except those which refer to their lands. We know, however, that, as in some of the other tribes of Connecticut, individuals among them assisted in the wars against the French of

* Mohegan Petition.

† That is, the lands entailed by the first John Mason.

‡ Colonial Records, Vol. V: Mohegan Petition.

Canada; joining the regular contingents of the colony in the character of scouts, and receiving out of the public treasury pay of from fifteen to twenty shillings a month. In 1703, they were offered a bounty of ten pounds for every hostile Indian whom they should take prisoner.*

In the year following the warriors of the tribe were estimated at one hundred and fifty, which, in the proportion of one to five, would give a total population of seven hundred and fifty. It was said that no less than one hundred of this number were in the military service of the colony during this same year.†

As to the religious condition of the Mohegans, little was done at this period to instruct them in the Christian faith. We hear nothing of the little band of praying Indians, and only know that they had been left without a teacher by the death [in 1702] of their excellent friend the Rev. James Fitch. In May, 1717, the "business of gospelizing the Indians" was brought before the General Court. The subject was deferred until the October session, and the Governor and Council were requested to consider, in the mean time, what might be the best means for effecting the proposed end. In October, Governor Saltonstall sent in a message, on the subject, which was well worthy of coming from the pen of a Christian statesman. After pointing out several methods of preventing and restraining the vicious habits of the Indians, he recommended that the English population should be urged to do their part towards drawing the natives from barbarism, by exemplifying in their own conduct the excellencies of civilization.‡ On the hints furnished in this

* Col. Rec., Vol. III. † Mohegan Petition. ‡ Indian Papers, Vol. III, Doc. 88.

letter, an act for the promotion of civilization and Christianity among the Indians was framed and passed. The authorities of each town were ordered to convene the Indians within their jurisdiction, make known to them the laws existing against such crimes and immoralities as they were likely to commit, and inform them that they were as much exposed to the penalties of a violation of those laws as were his majesty's subjects. To prevent drunkenness and its attendant evils it was enacted, that whoever should sell strong drink to an Indian might be tried before any justice of the peace, and, on conviction, be fined twenty shillings for every offense. To encourage industry it was recommended that the Indians should be gathered into villages, and their lands no longer left common, but divided among the different families.*

Such were the provisions of this act, sensible and excellent; but alas! there is no proof and no probability that they were ever thoroughly carried into effect. Some rumsellers may have been prosecuted; some Indians may have been told that there were laws against stealing and fighting; but no division was made of lands, no well-governed villages were formed, and no check was put to the decline of the native population.

In October, 1722, it was represented to the Assembly that the acts forbidding private purchases of land from the Indians had been broken repeatedly and with impunity. A new enactment was passed, inflicting a fine of fifty pounds upon whoever should make such purchases in future, or should sell lands which had in this manner been already acquired.† In 1724, also, an act of 1702

* Colonial Records, Vol. V, and Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 87.
† Colonial Records, Vol. V.

was revived, declaring that debts against Indians were not recoverable in any court.* These various laws of course applied to the other tribes in the colony as well as to the Mohegans, and may be kept in mind while reading the subsequent chapters.

In 1723, died Cesar the son of Oweneco, after having, for eight years, been the sachem of Mohegan. The rightful heir to the throne now, was Mamohet the grandson of Oweneco by his eldest son, also called Mamohet. An infant when his father died, he was still a boy, or, at most, a very young man, and advantage was taken of his youth to deprive him of the sachemship. Ben Uncas, youngest brother of Oweneco, and illegitimate son of the great Uncas, must now have been an old man; yet not old enough, it seems, to have laid aside the love of dignity and power. On the death of Cesar, he became a competitor with Mamohet for the sachemship, and even threatened, as the Indians reported, to put his opponent to death. A general council of the tribe was held, where the claims of the two rivals were discussed and disputed for more than a fortnight before any decision could be made. The Assembly declared itself in favor of Ben;† Mason also supported him, perhaps to prevent a quarrel between the Mohegans and the colony; and Mamohet, hopeless of overcoming such opposition, or fearful of Ben's vengeance, gave up the contest and resigned his claim. Major Ben Uncas, as he was commonly called, was therefore crowned sachem, and had his election ratified by an act of the Assembly.‡

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 115. † Mohegan Petition.
‡ Colonial Records, Vol. V.

The controversy respecting the Mohegan lands, which seemed to be settled in 1721, was soon revived. John Mason was by no means satisfied with the decision then made by the Assembly's committee: yet he would not probably have contested it had it not been for the ill-advised, though, perhaps, not singular parsimony of the colony. The expenses of the commission of 1705 had been large, and Mason, as the friend and guardian of the Indians, had stood responsible for their proportion of them. This was, of course, in expectation that the decision of the court would be fulfilled, and that then the Mohegans would be able to repay him out of the proceeds of the recovered lands. All such hopes being finally crushed by the proceedings of the committee of 1721, Mason seems to have resolved to appeal for justice to the General Court. In 1722, he applied for copies of the records relating to the Mohegans, and, in October of the following year, presented a memorial of his grievances and a petition for redress. He stated the charges of Governor Dudley's court at £573 12*s.* 8*d.*, part of which he had already paid, and for the remainder had made himself responsible. He represented the injustice of the people of Lyme and Colchester being allowed to retain the large tracts which they had acquired, without making the Indians any compensation for them. Finally, he requested that he might again have the care of the Mohegans and their lands, with permission to live among them and cultivate such a tract as they were willing to allot him.* The Court made no reply to the first part of the memorial, but granted the rest in full. He was authorized to take charge of the

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Documents 121, 122.

affairs of the Indians, and was requested to set up a school among them, and to make them acquainted with the nature of the Christian religion. "This," says the resolution, "is in consideration of the respect justly due to the name of Captain Mason's ancestors; to the great trust which the Mohegans have had in them; to the confidence which they repose in him, and to his knowledge of their language and manners."*

Ben Uncas, his council and tribe, had already [August 23d, 1723,] chosen Mason their guardian, and confirmed the office to him and to his heirs forever. He now applied to them for permission to live among them, and for a tract of their land for his own use. These requests were instantly granted, for the love of the great body of the Mohegans to the Mason family was hereditary and unfading. Mason accordingly moved from Stonington to Mohegan, and for some years acted as the teacher of the Mohegans: the General Court granting him, at one time, fifteen pounds for his services in that capacity.†

He still complained, however, of the injustice of being obliged to pay the costs of a court which the colony refused to obey; and being unwilling, and indeed unable, to extort so large a sum from the Mohegans, he made another effort to obtain it from the colony. He presented [May, 1725,] a second memorial, asking that the decision of Dudley's court might either be fulfilled, or some other method taken of liquidating the expenses which had accrued to him from it, as well as the losses which he had sustained by waiting twenty years. He asserted that an obligation to pay the costs of the court had been given to

* Colonial Rec., Vol. V. † Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 153 Col. Rec. V.

Oweneco by the colony in 1706, but had unfortunately been lost, so that he could not produce it. A deed was also made out for himself in the same year, he said, conveying to him seven hundred pounds in silver money to defray the above expenses.*

On this memorial a committee was appointed, which reported in May of the following year. It objected to two hundred and seventy-two pounds of the costs which Mason had charged, and stated that no proof existed of either the deed or the obligation which he mentioned. The committee also brought up against Mason the resignation of the trusteeship of the Mohegan lands which he made in 1710, and the one thousand pounds which were then paid by the colony to satisfy those who claimed lands of him. The report was approved by the General Court, and the petition remained ungranted.†

In the spring or summer of 1726, the old sachem died, and was succeeded by his son, also named Ben Uncas, to the prejudice of the rights of Mamohet. Some opposition was made to him by part of the tribe; but he was publicly invested with the office after the Mohegan fashion, and his election was ratified by the Court. One of Ben's first acts of sovereignty was to give a power of attorney to one of his people, Jo Weebuck, to collect the rents and herbage of the land from the English tenants by whom some portions of it were cultivated.‡

In the mean time, Mason, unsatisfied with the decision of the colony, was endeavoring to form a party among the Mohegans to support him in obtaining what he considered

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 126. † Ibid.
‡ Indian Papers, Vol. I, Documents 127. 128. 129.

his rights. Ben Uncas and a few others remained firm to Connecticut, but the family name and personal influence of Mason succeeded in bringing over the greater part of the tribe. In this little community, therefore, two factions were now formed, which continued for thirty or forty years to oppose each other, with a violence and pertinacity that would have done honor to bigger parties in a bigger state. Ben Uncas, finding his authority disturbed by this circumstance, became as much opposed to Mason, and as anxious to destroy his influence, as the government of Connecticut could wish. He twice petitioned that other overseers might be appointed for the tribe, although both his father and himself had granted that office, in perpetuity, to the family of Mason. The General Court accordingly passed [October, 1726,] a resolution, confirming Ben Uncas as sachem of the Mohegans, and appointing John Hall and James Wadsworth as his guardians. It was enacted, at the same time, that persons holding lands on the tract sequestered to the Mohegans by John Mason in 1671, should not be allowed to plead even fifteen years possession for their claim; but should still hold them merely as tenants of the Indians, unless they could prove them to have been fairly and legally purchased.*

In October, 1730, three guardians, James Wadsworth, Stephen Whittelsey and Samuel Lynde, were appointed, with authority to lease the Indian land to English tenants. Two years afterwards, the guardians then chosen were authorized to prosecute those tenants who refused to quit the lands when their leases expired; for which object the sum of five pounds might be drawn from the public

* Colonial Records, Vol. V. Indian Papers, Vol. I, Documents 129, 130.

treasury. In 1730, a like sum was allowed for the purpose of prosecuting intruders. The rents were received by Ben Uncas in right of his dignity as sachem.*

Mason, though deprived of the overseership, still continued to live on the Mohegan lands. Believing still that he was wronged by the colonial government, and still claiming to be the rightful guardian of the tribe, he resolved to carry his case before the crown. Finding Ben wholly intractable and bitterly opposed to him, he supported the claims of Mamohet to the sachemship, and induced a great part of the tribe to follow his example. In 1735, taking with him his son, Samuel Mason, and Mamohet, now a full grown man, he sailed to England, and laid a memorial of the case of the Mohegan lands before George the Second. The king referred it to the Lords Commissioners on foreign trade and plantations. They reported that an order of review of the case had been given in 1706; and proposed that another should now be granted, the expense of which, out of consideration for the poverty of the Mohegans, should be paid by the crown. Before the commission was made out, Mason died in England. His two sons, John and Samuel, now claimed the guardianship, upon the authority of the deeds making over that office to their father and his descendants in perpetuity. A few weeks after the death of Mason, he was followed to the grave by Mamohet, probably the only Indian sagamore who was ever buried in England.†

A few months previous to this event, the Mohegans, while holding a great dance, had put it to the vote

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 154.

† This passage is collected from the Mohegan Petitions.

whether Mamohet or Ben Uncas was their true sachem, and had decided unanimously in favor of the former. On hearing of the death of their favorite, they set up in his place John Uncas, a cousin of Ben, and son of that John who was the next oldest brother to Oweneco. Hardly a dozen, and sometimes less, remained firm to Ben, while the great body of the tribe, which then numbered eighty or one hundred men, followed John and the Masons.*

Both parties drew up and signed memorials which still remain. The memorial of Ben Uncas was presented to his guardians. It complained that Captain John Mason, lately deceased, had opposed the rightful authority of Ben Uncas, and had encouraged the Mohegans to set up a rival against him, their true sachem. It asserted that, Mason being dead, the lands on which he had lived ought to return into the possession of the tribe. He had come among them on pretense of keeping a school, and, in fact, had performed the duties of a teacher for about three years. His lands, therefore, ought now to revert to the tribe, and be leased to some pious person who would undertake the same office.

Ben also complained that the heirs of Captain Daniel Fitch were encroaching on his lands.†

The other memorial made various complaints against Ben Uncas, and asked that the widow and children of Captain Mason might remain on the lands of the tribe until Samuel Mason could return from England.‡

In reply to these petitions, the General Court directed the three guardians to go to Mohegan and do all they

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 173. † Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 157.
‡ Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 158.

could to settle the quarrels of the Indians. They were also to see that their rights were preserved to them, their fields well fenced, and their corn protected from the cattle of the neighboring farmers.

On the fourteenth of June, 1737, a commission of review upon the affairs of the Mohegans was made out in England, appointing as Commissioners the Governor and Assistants of Rhode Island, and the Lieutenant Governor and Members of New York. The government of Connecticut, seeing the storm approaching, began its preparations to meet it. An important point, on which the fate of the trial might turn, was the question as to who was the true sachem of the Mohegans. If Ben Uncas could retain the name and authority of that office, he might perhaps render the proceedings of the proposed court nugatory, by refusing to acknowledge Samuel Mason as the agent of the tribe, and by declaring that the Mohegans had no cause of complaint against the colony. The greater part of the Indians were, indeed, violently opposed to Ben; but a favorable opportunity now offered to induce them to acknowledge his title. A report was abroad that the eastern Indians were coming to attack them, and the Mohegans therefore applied to the colony for protection. The governor replied that he would protect none but their lawful sachem, Ben Uncas, and those who submitted to his government.* A paper acknowledging Ben as the true sachem of the tribe was drawn up, and was presented

* My only authority for this statement is a Mohegan Petition. Without these petitions it is impossible to trace a connected narrative. I must in honesty give warning, however, that they may contain exaggerations and even falsehoods. Yet I have taken pains to reject those passages, the truth of which appears evidently doubtful.

for the marks of those who, on this condition, would accept of the protection of Connecticut. Fifty-eight Indians signed it, among whom was Ben Uncas himself, and John Uncas, either his rival or his rival's son.* That Ben Uncas should sign a paper acknowledging himself as sachem is very absurd; and that John Uncas should sign the same paper, with a knowledge of its contents, is very improbable. The explanation is not difficult, and is given us in full by the testimony of Jonathan Barber, at that time missionary among the Mohegans. He assigns three reasons for believing that the signers of the above paper knew little or nothing of its meaning. In the first place, many of them had, a short time before, asserted openly in conversation, that Ben Uncas was not their sachem. In the second, some of them insisted that Ben himself should sign the paper, which was inconsistent with the nature of it. Finally, many of them afterwards declared that they supposed the object of their signing to be, to show how many Mohegans were ready to join in the war which was expected to take place against the French, the Mohawks and the eastern Indians.†

Another method of strengthening the hands of Ben was to send for his son, then an indented apprentice in Massachusetts, and marry him to Ann, the daughter of the former sachem Cesar. His master, Samuel Russell of Sherburn, refused to give him up without being satisfied for that part of his apprenticeship which was still unexpired. Forty pounds were paid for this object, ten pounds more for the expenses of the messenger, and young Ben

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 173, pp. 37, 38.

† Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 173, pp. 43, 44.

was brought home to Mohegan and married to Ann as had been proposed.*

The precaution was also taken of obtaining a deed from the Mohegans; acknowledging that the colony had always behaved towards them with justice; disclaiming the complaint which had lately been made to the king, and releasing all persons concerned from the consequences of the decision of Dudley's court. Fifty pounds, it was said by the enemies of the colony, were given for this settlement; yet such was the influence of the Masons that only eighteen of the tribe, including the sachem, could be induced to sign it. A large number of the others met the next day, formally protested against what had been done, disclaimed Ben Uncas as their sachem, and denied that he had any right to release their demands.†

The meeting of the court being now at hand, John Richards, one of the overseers, was ordered to provide Ben Uncas with suitable clothing to appear before the commissioners. We may be allowed to infer from this circumstance, that the sachem was ordinarily somewhat ragged and dirty in his equipments; and, if such was the condition of the chief, who claimed and received all the rents of the lands, what must have been the situation of the people! Another resolution of the General Court directed that the commissioners should be properly and honorably rewarded for the expense and trouble which would necessarily ensue to them in the discharge of their duty.‡

On the fourth of June, 1738, the court convened at Norwich, almost in the midst of the disputed territory,

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Documents 236, 237.

† Mohegan Petition. ‡ Colonial Records, Vol. VI.

and only a few miles from the wigwams of the Mohegans. The Commissioners were nine in number: Philip Cortlandt and Daniel Horsmanden, members of the New York council, and the Governor and six Assistants of the colony of Rhode Island. Of the others little is at present known; but Horsmanden was at different times chief justice of the colony of New York, president of the council and recorder of the city.*

The Mason party had retained as counsel for the Mohegans William Shirley, advocate-general of New England, and afterwards governor of Massachusetts, and William Bollan, a distinguished lawyer, son-in-law of Shirley, and also, at one time, advocate-general of New England. Philip Cortlandt was chosen president, and the court entered upon its business. The governor and council of Connecticut, the sachem and heads of the Mohegan tribe, and the persons holding disputed lands, were now summoned. When the chief sachem of the Mohegans was called, Ben Uncas rose and replied that he was chief sachem, and was immediately followed by John Uncas, who asserted that he was chief sachem. The court decided to settle this point before proceeding further; and nine persons of the vicinity, well acquainted among the Mohegans, were summoned and examined as to which was the rightful claimant. They all testified that John was descended from the second son of old Uncas; that Ben was descended from a younger son, who was supposed to be illegitimate: that, in consequence, John Uncas was the true and lawful sachem of Mohegan. The Rhode Island commissioners, who from the first showed a decided in-

* Allen's Biographical Dictionary.

clination to favor Connecticut, were still unsatisfied, and Shirley and Bollan proposed that the Mohegans who were then present might be brought in as additional witnesses. The greatest part of the tribe was probably there, but the proposition being put to the vote, a majority of the court decided against it. Horsmanden considered this decision so unjust that he openly dissented. This was on the tenth of June.*

On the following day the examination of witnesses was continued; and Thomas Stanton the interpreter,† Captain John Morgan a firm friend of the Mohegans, and Jonathan Barber, then missionary among them, testified in favor of John Uncas. Shirley and Bollan now moved again that the testimony of the Mohegans might be taken, first for Ben Uncas, afterwards for John. The Rhode Island commissioners refused, and Horsmanden again dissented from the refusal.‡

On the thirteenth of June, a majority of the court decided, in face of all the evidence, that Ben Uncas was the rightful sachem of Mohegan. Horsmanden once more dissented, and was joined by Cortlandt, his colleague from New York. The case was now in a singular position. The sachem and people of Mohegan were complaining against the colony of Connecticut; Ben Uncas was the acknowledged sachem of Mohegan; and Ben Uncas declared that neither he nor his tribe had any cause of complaint against the colony. The first thing that this extraordinary plaintiff did was, to dismiss Sherman and Bollan from their post as counsel for the Mohegans, and

* See Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 173.

† Son of that Thomas Stanton who was interpreter in the early days of the colony.

‡ Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 173.

ask that three Connecticut men whom he named might be chosen in their place. This was carried, and Messrs. Edwards, Curtiss and Lee were accordingly installed as advocates to manage the case against the colony. To counteract this move, Shirley and Bollan proposed that Samuel Mason, son of the deceased John Mason, should be admitted as the guardian of the Mohegans. This was refused, and Horsmanden dissented. They moved that the Mohegans might choose their own advocates. It was denied. They moved that these motions and refusals might be recorded among the proceedings. It was refused. The New York commissioners dissented, and requested that their dissents might be entered. It was voted down. Shirley and Bollan, seeing that their presence was completely useless, returned to Boston. On the following day, Cortlandt and Horsmanden brought in a protest against the proceedings of the court; calling the defense of the colony unfair and collusive; observing that the prosecution was in part conducted by members of the government of Connecticut; and expressing their entire dissatisfaction. Having laid this protest on the table, they left the court and returned to New York.*

The remaining commissioners now appointed John Wanton, governor of Rhode Island, as president. The defense of the colony being called for, various documents were brought forward, and, among others, the deed of 1640. This deed, it will be remembered, represents Uncas as passing away nearly his whole territory, amounting to seven or eight hundred square miles, for nothing, and receiving a present of five and a half yards of cloth and a

* See Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 173.

few pairs of stockings. Such a ground of defense, whatever justice it may have had considering the circumstances of Uncas in 1640, seemed so unreasonable to the clerk of the court, a Rhode Islander named John Walton, that he declared that he would no longer execute his office. His resignation was accepted, and Daniel Huntington of Norwich was appointed in his place. It was now proposed to review the proceedings of former courts upon the cause; but this a majority of the commissioners refused to do. The refusal was objected to by Lee, one of Ben Uncas's counsel; and, as he could not induce the court to revoke its decision, he resigned his post.*

A paper, dated March 11th, 1737, releasing the colony from all the charges made against it, and signed with the marks of Ben Uncas and a number of other Mohegans, was now read, as well as another of a similar purport obtained from the same source, May 5th, 1738. Ben and several of his tribe then came forward and testified that these releases were truly theirs and given of their own free choice.

On Monday, the sixteenth of June, the commissioners present, John Wanton, governor of Rhode Island, and John Chipman, Peter Bours, William Anthony, James Arnold, Philip Arnold, Rowse Helme, Assistants of the same colony, pronounced their decision: that the sentence of Governor Dudley's court of 1705 be repealed. In support of this decision, they adduced the deed of 1640; the terms of the royal charter of Connecticut; the quit-claims and conveyances obtained from various Mohegan sachems by individual proprietors; the fact that the Mohegans

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 173. Mohegan Petition.

were still in possession of a fertile tract of four or five thousand acres; and, finally, the two general acquittances which had been given to the colony by Ben Uncas the present sachem.*

Thus closed this extraordinary trial. If the decision was not unjust, it was, at all events reached by a course disgraceful to the majority of the commissioners. It is difficult to see what possible claim the colony of Connecticut had to the right of appointing the sachems and guardians of the Mohegans. The Mohegans were a free people: they had never been conquered by the English; never made any kind of submission to the English government. The only one of the nation who ever became a British subject was a man without authority or influence, Abimelech, the son of Attawanhood. The guardians of the Mohegans should be considered as their agents, and these agents the tribe claimed a right to choose without regard to any will besides its own. If the General Court of Connecticut had ever ratified the choice, that was a thing which the Indians had never requested it to do, although they had never objected to it. The only claim which the Court could advance for the right of making these ratifications was, that the said agents or guardians had always been citizens of the colony. Yet even this fact would give it no right to say that any such citizens should not act as agents or guardians in a suit at law.

As for the sachemship, John Uncas was the head of the oldest surviving branch of the royal family, and was supported in his claims by a great majority of the tribe. Ben

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 173.

Uncas, on the contrary, was head of the youngest branch of the royal family, and that branch, too, generally believed to be illegitimate. Descent among the Indians was influenced by the mother, not by the father; and the mother of Ben Uncas was not a woman of royal blood. John Uncas, therefore, was the true sachem of Mohegan, in spite of the fact that his rival had obtained the ceremony of installation. Mason, too, should have been the guardian, Sherman and Bollan the advocates, of the plaintiffs; not some persons who were chosen by the defendants. It was a new thing indeed, as the complainants said, that one of the parties in a suit at law should be guardian and adviser for the other.

Finally, the last treaty made with Uncas provided that, when any Mohegan land was taken for the use of the colony, a compensation should be made such as the parties could agree upon. Yet not a penny appears to have been paid for the eighteen square miles absorbed into Lyme; nor more than a few shillings for the still larger tract taken up by the township of Colchester. These lands, therefore, if no others, ought to have been paid for or restored.

The costs of the trial had been considerable to Connecticut, and some of the items preserved in the records are not unworthy of notice. One James Harris sent in two bills for expenses incurred in keeping up among the Mohegans a party favorable to the colony. The first consisted of £8 5*s.* 10*d.* in clothes and other articles for Joshua and Samuel Uncas. Simon Choychoy and Zachary Johnson. The second was for expenses incurred while remaining personally among the Mohegans and endeavoring to keep them in a good humor. One of the items

in this last was £10 13*s.* 7*d.* "for feasting the Indians at their meeting for the revocation:" alluding to the council where the quit-claim or release was assented to by the party of Ben Uncas. The entire bills of Harris amounted to over one hundred and ninety-three pounds, but the General Court finally allowed him only one hundred.*

Difficulties soon arose between Ben and some of the people of Norwich, and he complained to the Court that encroachments were made on the lands which had so lately been reserved to him. The guardians, Wadsworth, Lynde and Richards, were therefore commissioned to ascertain the bounds of Mohegan, and assist the sachem in maintaining them against intruders.†

After the close of the court of 1738, John and Samuel Mason were commissioned by their party among the Mohegans to present an appeal to the crown. The memorial was written, signed and sent over to England, with a report from Cortlandt and Horsmanden of the irregular proceedings which had caused their withdrawal from the court. The Lords Justices accordingly set aside the decision, and granted a new commission, [January, 1741,] empowering the governor and council of New York and the governor and council of New Jersey to try the cause. An appeal might be made to the king's privy council, and then the litigation was to be settled forever.‡

These events being known in Connecticut, preparations were made to meet the trial; committees appointed, advocates hired, and agents chosen to represent the colony

* Indian Papers, Vol. II. Colonial Records, Vol. VII.

† Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc'ts. 217, 218. ‡ Mohegan Petition.

before the expected court. Ben Uncas now did what had never before been done by a Mohegan sachem: after appointing the council of his tribe, he sent to the Assembly desiring that his appointments might be ratified. That body of course assented to a request so obsequious, and so calculated to support its claims of authority over the Mohegans. The names of the councilors exhibit the curious mixture of native and English cognomens now prevalent among the Indians. They were, "old Wambawaug, old Jo Py, Joshua Uncas, Simon Chawchaw, Samuel Py, Samson Occom, Ephraim Johnson and John Wambawaug." A paper was also presented, signed by Ben Uncas and twenty-one others, expressing their disapprobation of the "insinuations and misrepresentations of John and Samuel Mason."* This paper probably exhibits the whole strength of the colonial party among the Mohegans, at a time when the tribe consisted of more than one hundred men.

On the ninth day of July, 1743, five commissioners from New York and New Jersey held their first meeting at Norwich. Two of them were Philip Cortlandt, the president of the former court, and Daniel Horsmanden, who had made himself so conspicuous by his opposition to the members from Rhode Island. Another was Cadwalader Colden, historian of the Six Nations; a physician, a botanist and an astronomer; formerly surveyor-general of New York, and now a member of its council. A fourth was Lewis Morris, first governor of New Jersey, an old man of seventy-one summers. The little town of Norwich was filled to overflowing with strangers, some of

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 248. Colonial Records, Vol. VII.

whom were personally interested in the proceedings, others attracted thither by curiosity. All the officers of the government and many of the distinguished men of the colony were present. The whole tribe of the Mohegans was quartered on the inhabitants, and the two rival sachems exerted themselves each to support the greatest state. John Uncas and his followers were entertained by their friends, the Bathrops, the Leffingwells, and other principal inhabitants of Norwich. Ben Uncas was supported mostly at the expense of the colony, and was honored with the notice of the chief officers of government.*

Four parties, John Uncas, Ben Uncas, the colony of Connecticut, and the holders of the disputed lands, appeared in court, each represented by its own attorney. The counsel of John Uncas was the same William Bollan who had served him, five years before, in conjunction with Governor Shirley. The sheriff was commanded to summon the Mohegans individually, and inquire of them who was their rightful sachem. He returned from his duty, saying that he had interrogated ninety-nine; that twenty-two of them had declared for Ben Uncas; that the other seventy-seven had denied Ben, and pronounced for his rival, John Uncas.†

The case was argued at length by the council for the colony. They stated, in the first place, that the Mohegans were not originally a distinct and independent people, but only a fragment of the Pequots which had been rescued from servitude and rendered numerous and powerful by the friendship of the English. Thus they had properly no territory of their own, and what rights to

* History of Norwich, pp. 162, 163. † Mohegan Petition.

land they could claim were passed away by Uncas's deed of 1640. Another deed had been obtained, in 1659, by Mason, not as trustee of the Indians, but as an agent of the colony of Connecticut of which he was then deputy governor. Less than a year after, he made over all the lands thus obtained to the colony, so that his subsequent reservation of a considerable portion of them to the Mohegans was illegal and worthless. The lands in dispute had thus twice been bought in the mass, and had afterwards been purchased in tracts by individuals. The Indians, of themselves, were perfectly satisfied, and only made trouble, because they were incited to do so by selfish and designing men. The territory in question had been held by its present possessors many years, and as these now amounted to five or six hundred persons, much suffering would be produced by ejecting them from their lands. They protested against the claims of John and Samuel Mason to the guardianship of the Mohegans, and asserted that no person could exercise that office without the consent of the colony. Finally, they denied that the authority of the court could extend further than to such lands as the sachems had in their sales reserved to themselves.*

Bollan spoke on the part of the complainants. He denied that the Mohegans had ever sold their land in the mass to the colony. On the contrary, they had trusteed it to their faithful friend, John Mason, to keep it for them from the greediness and cunning of many of the English. When Mason grew old and was about to die, he had returned the greater part of it to the tribe, and the sachems

* Indian Papers, Vol. II. Mohegan Petition. Defense of the colony, mss.

had, after his decease, transferred it to the care of his children. In that family it had always continued, and in that family, by the will of the Mohegans, it still remained. John and Samuel Mason had been noticed as guardians of the tribe in the last royal commission of review. The government of Connecticut had no right whatever to appoint overseers for a free people, like the Mohegans, especially in such a conjuncture as the present. It was an unheard-of thing for one of the parties in an important law suit, or any law suit at all, to make itself guardian and adviser for the other. His clients denied that Ben Uncas was sachem, and acknowledged no one for that post but John Uncas. They repudiated most of the grants which were alleged to have been made since the death of the great Uncas; and they contended that all papers relating to transactions between the Indians and the English ought to be interpreted in the sense most favorable to the former, because the whites, who drew them up, would naturally state them as advantageously as possible for themselves. As for the length of time which the lands had been held by the present tenants, that was not pleadable against the Indians, who, being independent, were not subject to English law. And, besides, when the decision of 1705 was given in their favor, few of the tenants had been in possession long, and some of them had not entered upon the lands, or acquired any claim to them, at all.*

The trial dragged on for a long time, and an immense amount of evidence on every point bearing any relation to the case was brought up and examined. On the sixth

* Mohegan Petition.

day of the court, Captain Lee, counsel for Ben Uncas, begged a hearing on behalf of his client. It was granted; upon which he produced a paper signed by Ben Uncas, as sachem of the Mohegans, and by ten of his people. It was a release to the government and people of Connecticut from the present trial, acknowledging that all the material assertions in their defense were true, and declaring that they held legal and honorable possession of the territory now in litigation.*

Several days after the court had been opened, the holders of the disputed lands protested against the proceedings, denied that they were complained against by those who had a right to complain, and prayed to be dismissed. Bollan replied that the tenants held lands once belonging to the Mohegans; that the Mohegans had charged them with obtaining those lands unfairly; and that it was their business to repel that charge and the proofs which were alleged in its support by substantial facts. The tenants denied the power of the crown to institute such a court as was now sitting; but the commissioners overruled the denial. The tenants finally made a declaration, that they held their titles by fair Indian grants, obtained for money, goods and valuable articles paid to the native owners.†

On the twenty-sixth of July, seventeen days after the opening of the court, the commissioners had finished all the evidence, heard all the pleas; and three out of the five, Colden, Rodman and Cortlandt, pronounced a decision in favor of the colony. They went over the whole history of land transactions between the Mohegans and

* Mohegan Petition. † Mohegan Petition.

the people of Connecticut; allowed the truth of all, or nearly all, that had been urged by the advocates of the latter; expressed their belief that the Indians would not have retained a foot of land had it not been for the interference of the colonial government; mentioned that the Mohegans now had, secured to them, a tract of four or five thousand acres, and declared that with this they ought to be satisfied.*

Lewis Morris then rose, and stated that his opinion differed in some particulars from that of Messrs. Colden, Rodman and Cortlandt. He considered the deed of 1640 to be the genuine work of Uncas; but, from its tenor, and from subsequent transactions, he regarded it as only giving the Connecticut people a pre-emption right to the lands therein mentioned, to the exclusion of the other English and of the Dutch. As to the surrender of the Mohegan lands by Mason to Connecticut, he thought it could not have been his intention to convey to the colony the ownership of the lands, but only to enable it to exercise its jurisdictive power within the limits of the territory. His opinion on the whole case he would reserve until the next meeting of the court.†

Finally rose Horsmanden; not a whit more friendly to the government of Connecticut now than he had been five years before. He differed widely, he said, from Mr. Morris, as well as from Messrs. Colden, Rodman and Cortlandt. He had carefully examined the deed of 1640, and had compared the several exhibits made of it with each other. He did not believe that the marks on it were those of Uncas and his councilor, nor that the name of the in-

* Mohegan Petition. † Mohegan Petition.

terpreter, Thomas Stanton, which was appended to it, was written by Thomas Stanton himself. He believed the whole instrument, with its marks and signatures, to be the work of one man, Governor Hopkins of Connecticut. And even if the deed had been genuine, such were the transactions subsequent to it that they ought to render it null.

Having delivered this extraordinary opinion, as much out of the way on one hand as that of Colden, Rodman and Cortlandt could possibly be on the other, Horsmanden, like Morris, reserved his decision on the entire case until the next meeting of the court. It was now carried, by a vote of three against two, that the judgment of the majority should be drawn up. The court then adjourned to the fifth of November, 1743.

On the day appointed the commissioners met, and the statement of the case made out by Colden, Rodman and Cortlandt was read, closing with the following decision. The decree of Governor Dudley and his colleagues, delivered September 3d, 1705, is wholly revoked, except as to that part of the Sequestered Lands, amounting to between four and five thousand acres, which has been laid out by the colony of Connecticut for the Mohegan Indians, and which is now reserved to them as long as they exist.

Bollan, on the part of John Uncas and his people, then presented an appeal from the decision of the court to that of the king's privy council. The commissioners accepted it, although the agents of the colony objected that it was signed by Bollan, who, they still insisted, had no right to act as the advocate of the Mohegans.

Morris rose and stated that he had not been able to prepare his opinion, because the clerk had neglected to send him the exhibits of the case. Horsmanden then read his opinion at length; but such was its character, that the commissioners, by a vote of three to two, refused to record it. He protested against the refusal, and declared that he would forward the opinion to the Lords Commissioners on foreign trade and plantations, to whom all colonial matters were usually referred.* He kept his promise: the appeal of the Indians was also sent, and the cause was tried and finally settled in England. The last mention of it to be found at Hartford is dated July 8th, 1766, when it was to be presented to the Lords Commissioners in the following February. The final decision, when it took place, was given in favor of the colony; but more, as many people thought, on grounds of expediency than on those of justice.

I have yet to speak of the legal enactments made for the Mohegans from 1722 to 1743, and of their religious, moral and physical condition during the same period. I shall be obliged to mention, also, some laws passed by the Legislature, which applied, not only to them, but to the other tribes in the colony.

War had broken out in 1722, between the Indians of Maine and the people of New England. The natives of

* The account of the proceedings of this trial is taken almost wholly from the petitions of the Mohegans in the Library of Yale College. Other materials would have been desirable as standards of comparison, but I know not where they can be found. Some particulars are extracted from Miss Caulkins' entertaining history of Norwich, a few from the second volume of papers on Indians in the office of the Secretary of State, and a few from the manuscript defense of the colony preserved in the Library of Yale College.

Connecticut were suspected of supplying the hostile warriors with arms, and were also suspected of the less serious offense of killing deer out of the legal hunting season. It was considered best that they should not possess weapons to use in these ways, and a law was passed [1723] calculated to deter the whites from furnishing them with them. It provided that no person should be allowed to prosecute an Indian for the payment or recovery of guns or ammunition which he had sold to him. Restrictions were also laid upon the Indians themselves; forbidding them to hunt, travel or be found north and west of certain limits without leave, under penalty of being treated as enemies. Not long afterwards, however, [1724] these restrictions were partially removed from the Mohegans, and at the same time from the Pequots. They might hunt and travel all over the country east of the Connecticut River, on condition that they gave in their names to the highest commissioned military officer of the town where they belonged, appeared before him once in ten days to answer to their names, and, while hunting, wore something white on their heads to distinguish them as friends.*

In 1725, all the Indian tribes in Connecticut were placed, by enactment, under the care of the governor and council. Whether they were, at this time, considered subjects of the colony, it is difficult to say. Their real condition was one of submission and dependence, although none of them, except the Pequots, having ever formally acknowledged allegiance to the English, they were rightfully free.†

It has been already mentioned that John Mason, who

* Indian Papers Vol. I, Document 111. † Colonial Records, Vol. V.

died in England, acted for several years as school teacher among the Mohegans. A one story schoolhouse, twenty-two feet long and sixteen feet wide, was ordered by the Assembly to be built for them, and to be paid for out of the colonial treasury, unless some of the rents of the Indian lands could be employed for that purpose. In 1727, all persons having Indian children in their families were commanded to teach them English and instruct them in the Christian faith, under a penalty not exceeding forty shillings. The guardians of the Mohegans were repeatedly recommended to use their influence in encouraging their charge to industry and religion. Such exertions in the cause of morality and piety were of course cheap, and probably met with a proportionate degree of success.*

When the famous Samson Occom was a boy, Mr Jewett, minister of that part of New London which now constitutes the township of Montville, used, at one time, to preach at Mohegan once a fortnight.

In the fall of 1733 a minister named Jonathan Barber was sent among the Mohegans by the agents of a missionary society established in England with a view to spreading the gospel among the natives of North America. Barber had only been with them a few weeks, when he found that his exertions for their benefit were rendered almost nugatory by the effects of intoxicating liquors introduced among them by the whites. Severe laws had been repeatedly enacted against the practice; but they were broken with impunity, and rum was brought among the Indians by the gallon, and cider by the barrel. At Barber's instigation, doubtless, Ben Uncas petitioned the

* Colonial Records, Vol. V.

Assembly concerning this grievance, and John Mason, who had not yet gone to England, added a letter much to the same purpose. It was therefore enacted, "that all cyder, Rhum and other strong drink found in the Mohegan territory, without the consent of Messrs. Fitch and Avery there living, shall be forfeited to the king." Fitch and Avery, the guardians of the Mohegans, were empowered to search for all such liquors and make seizure of them; and the vender, besides being liable to all the penalties hitherto laid upon his offense, was to forfeit twice the value of what he had sold. This sum was to go to the person who exposed him, even if that person was the very Indian who had bought the liquor and was detected with it in his possession.* This proviso is a sufficient proof of how anxious the natives were to obtain ardent spirits, and how difficult it was to induce them to inform against those who enabled them to procure their favorite beverage.

How long Jonathan Barber remained among the Mohegans, or what success attended his labors, is uncertain. He was with them, however, at the time of the commission of 1738; and it is hardly probable that he would leave them during the deep religious interest of that period, which continued through the year 1741. This was the great American revival, during the progress of which Whitefield visited New England and preached with such distinguished success. Several ministers were in the habit of visiting, and preaching to, the Mohegans, and many of the latter used to attend the neighboring churches. As early as 1736, Ben Uncas made a declara-

* Colonial Records, Vol. VI.

tion that he embraced the Christian religion. When this event was made known to the Assembly, the members of that body expressed themselves much gratified, and resolved to encourage the chieftain in so good a course. It was the first instance of the kind, they said, that had ever been known of any Indian sachem. They therefore passed a resolution desiring the governor to present him, at the public expense, with a hat and coat in the English style, and his wife with a gown.* Nothing remains to show what was the religious character of Ben; but from his will, made several years after this event, it would seem that he was at least theoretically acquainted with the vital truths of Christianity.†

We now take leave of the Mohegans for a few pages. They number, at this period, from one hundred to one hundred and twenty men, and, of course, from four to five hundred individuals. They are divided into two parties: a small one supported and countenanced by the colony of Connecticut; and a larger one, looking with anxiety for the result of their petition against that colony. They possess upwards of four thousand acres of good land; probably only a small part of it cleared, and the greatest portion of this leased and cultivated by English tenants.

* Colonial Records, Vol. VI. † Colonial Records, Vol. VI.

CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY OF THE PRIMITIVE WESTERN AND NORTHERN TRIBES FROM THE DEATH OF UNCAS TO THE PRESENT DAY.

The present chapter will comprise the history of the primitive western and northern tribes, and will extend from the death of Uncas down to the present time. The same disconnection in the subject which obliged me to break the chronological order of the narration at the close of the seventh chapter, here renders it necessary to do so again. I shall therefore mention a few circumstances which have some general interest, and shall then take up, and prosecute, the history of each little community by itself.

One feature of this latter period of Indian history, in our State, is the emigration and breaking up of old tribes, and the temporary formation of new ones. We shall see whole clans forsaking their ancient habitations, and moving off, almost bodily, until they come to some spot where they can fish and hunt in streams and forests hitherto little visited by the white man. We shall see new communities, of considerable size, collecting under the leadership of individuals of more than ordinary genius, and then melting away like the tribes from which they were originally composed. We shall also see portions of

the Indian population leaving the State altogether; and giving grounds for us to speculate on the still greater numbers who may have pursued, and probably did pursue, the same course singly or in families. All these are interesting and important acts in the long drama which exhibits the gradual disappearance of the aborigines of Connecticut. Nor is this disappearance a thing so unparalleled as to demand from us any great degree of astonishment. If we look through the pages of history, and if we look round at the present condition of the world, we shall see many instances not at all dissimilar. Especially have these instances multiplied since the discovery of America, and of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, have thrown open communities of entirely savage and uncultivated men to the trading visits and colonies of the civilization-hardened races of Europe. This phenomenon is taking place in New Zealand, where the natives are strong in body, cheerful in disposition, and singularly free from any inclination to intemperance. It is taking place in Tahiti, where the English missionaries have long labored with great zeal and success, and where, until very lately, the branch of peace had for many years waved undisturbed in the breeze. It is taking place in the Sandwich Islands, where the whole of the population has been more or less christianized, and where the dawn of a semi-civilization has succeded to the dark night of unmingled ignorance and barbarism. New diseases have been sown; new vices have been imported; intemperance has raised its head; licentiousness has become trebly destructive. These seem to be the inevitable results to barbarians of intercourse with Europeans; and from these results spring

those seeds of decay which are infecting the races of barbarous men in every part of the world.

In 1720 a circumstance occurred in Connecticut which caused some little alarm among the settlers of the western part of the colony. It was discovered that a belt of wampum had been brought from some Indian place at the south called Towattowau, and, after arriving at Ammowaugs on the Hudson River, had reached an Indian living at Horseneck in the town of Greenwich. From him it had been carried to Chickens or Sam Mohawk, in Reading; from thence to Potatuck or Newtown, and from there to Wyantenock or New Milford, where it stopped. The Assembly caused some inquiries to be made into the mystery, and an Indian named Tapauranawko testified that the belt was in token that, at each place where it was accepted, captive Indians would be received and sold. He said that it would be sent back to Ammowaugs, and from there to Towattowau, which was a great ways to the south, and was inhabited by a large tribe of Indians. The Assembly resolved that no further notice should be taken of the belt; that the Indians should be directed to send it back whence it came; and should be charged not to receive such presents in future without giving notice to the magistrates.*

In October, 1724, restrictions, which had been laid on the Indians in consequence of the war with the tribes of Maine, were removed; and they were allowed to hunt, as usual, in the counties of Hartford, New Haven and Fairfield, provided they wore something white on their heads, and had some English with them during the first fortnight.†

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc'ts. 92 and 94. † Colonial Records, Vol. V.

On Thanksgiving day in 1736 a contribution was taken up, by order of the Assembly, in all the churches, for the benefit of the Indians in the colony, except the Mohegans, who were already provided for. Six hundred and nine pounds, seven shillings and two pence were contributed. How this sum was employed it is now probably impossible to ascertain. A school for Indian youth, however, was in being, about this time, in Farmington; and, as Indians are sometimes mentioned in the records and papers of that day, who had acquired a knowledge of reading and writing, it is possible that other establishments of a similar nature existed elsewhere. Some part of the money, too, was probably paid to the ministers of the various towns, for preaching to those tribes who were within their reach.*

In the fall of 1738, the people of New Hartford and vicinity were thrown into much consternation by the appearance of a party of strange Indians in the woods of that town, whose motives were unknown, and whose language could not be understood. One Martin Kellog, who seems to have been somewhat erudite in the aboriginal tongues, was sent for, and obtained an interview with the strangers. He found that they were Mohawks, a tribe always friendly to the English, and that their only object in coming hither at this time was to hunt. This was the last recorded appearance of an armed party of that famous nation in these regions which they had formerly so often visited as enemies and conquerors.†

In 1774, a census of the Indians in Connecticut was

* Colonial Records, Vol. VII. Ecclesiastical Papers, Vol. V.

† Indian Papers, Vol. I, Documents 224—226.

taken, by which it seems that they amounted to thirteen hundred and sixty-three souls. Of these there resided in each of the following counties, in Hartford one hundred and twenty-two, in New Haven seventy-one, in Fairfield sixty-one, in Tolland nineteen, and in Windham one hundred and twenty-three.*

In May, 1819, it was enacted that each overseer of any Indian tribe in Connecticut should annually state and settle his accounts, with the tribe, before the court of that county in which it resided.†

In May, 1823, another law was passed, ordering that every such overseer should give bonds, with sufficient sureties, to the court of his county, as a pledge that he would be faithful to his trust. These enactments had, of course, an equal degree of reference to the overseers of the Pequots and Mohegans.‡

THE POTATUCKS.

The Potatucks of Newtown and Woodbury appear to have been a small community: they never gave any trouble to the English settlers; and they are not known to have distinguished themselves by wars upon the neighboring tribes. One of the first, if not the very first, acts recorded of them, is the sale [1728] of forty-eight square miles of their territory to a number of settlers from Stratford. The deed of sale is subscribed by the marks of nineteen Indians, among which those of Mauquash, Massumpus and Nunawank are the first, and probably the

* Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. X, p. 118. † State Records, Vol. XIII.
‡ State Records, Vol. XIV.

most important. The price received for the land consisted of four guns, four broadcloth coats, four duffel coats, ten shirts, ten pairs of stockings, four kettles, ten hatchets, forty pounds of lead, ten pounds of powder and forty knives.* Never, probably, had the Potatuck tribe felt itself so abounding in wealth as at the instant this bargain was consummated, when they could put on the coats, handle the guns and fill their empty pouches with the invaluable powder. Little did they trouble themselves, in that moment of overflowing opulence, with the reflection that they had parted with their country, or imagine that in one century there would not be a Potatuck man, or woman or child above the sod of Connecticut.

The Potatucks were said to number in 1710 fifty warriors;† but this estimate, being made more than half a century subsequent to that date, is very uncertain and probably altogether too large. President Stiles gives it as his opinion that they were at this time subject to Weraumaug, a considerable sachem who lived on the Housatonic within the township of New Milford.

The same author preserves the account of a great powwowing which took place at the village of the Potatucks, probably about 1720 or 1725. The scene was witnessed by a Mrs. Bennet, then a little girl; and, after her death, was related by one of her children to the President. The ceremonies lasted three days, and were attended, she said, by five or six hundred Indians, many of whom came from distant towns, as Hartford and Farmington. While the Indians, excited by their wild rites and dark superstition,

* Papers on Towns and Lands, Vol. III, Documents 63 and 64.

† President Stiles's Itinerary.

were standing iu a dense mass, a little girl, gaily dressed and ornamented, was led in among them by two squaws, her mother and her aunt. As she entered the crowd the Indians set up their "high powwows," howling, yelling, throwing themselves into strange postures, and making hideous grimaces. Many white people stood around gazing at the scene; but such was the excited state of the savages, that, although they feared for the child's safety, none of them dared to interfere, or to enter the crowd. After a while the two squaws emerged alone from the press, stripped of all their ornaments, and walked away shedding tears and uttering mournful cries. The informant, deeply interested in the fate of one so near her own age, ran up to the two women and asked them what they had done with the little girl. They would not tell her, and only replied that they should never see that little girl again. The other Indians likewise remained silent on the subject; but Mrs. Bennet believed, and she said all the English then present believed, that the Indians had sacrificed her, and that they did at other times offer human sacrifices.*

In 1742, the Potatucks united with the Indians of New Milford, in a petition to the Legislature for a school and a preacher. From the sentiments and language of the petition it is evident that it was dictated, as well as penned, by some pious white person of the neighborhood. It has the marks of Mowehu, Cheery and nine other natives; and it states the number of the Potatucks at forty, and that of the New Milford Indians at thirty, individuals The Assembly voted forty pounds in bills of the old

* President Stiles's Itinerary.

tenor,* to assist the Indians of New Milford in obtaining schools in that town, and twenty-five pounds for the Potatucks, who were to receive the same benefits in Newtown and Waterbury. The ministers of New Milford, Woodbury and Newtown were recommended to take the petitioners under their care and instruction.† I know nothing of the results of this movement, nor any thing further of the history of the Potatucks until 1761. At that time they were found to consist of one man and two or three broken families.‡ In 1774, the Newtown Indians were reduced to two.§

THE PAUGUSSETTS OR WEPAWAUGS.

This tribe, it will be remembered, lived on the Housatonic, from its mouth at least as high up as its confluence with the Naugatuc, and claimed the country for a considerable distance on either side of the river. The last person who exercised the sachemship over the whole tribe was Konckapotanauh, who died about the year 1731 at his home in Derby. After this event the nation broke up: some joined the Potatucks; some went to the country of the Six Nations; some perhaps migrated to Scatacook; and of those on the eastern side of the river very few remained about their ancient seats. In 1774, the Milford part of the tribe was reduced to four persons, who lived

* Three pounds and a half old tenor were, about this time, equal to one of new tenor; new tenor was not equal to silver, at six shillings and eight pence the ounce, though intended to be so.

† Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 242.

‡ Letter of Rev. N. Birdsey to President Stiles, dated September 3d, 1761.

§ Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. X, p. 118.

on a small reservation at Turkey Hill, now in the township of Derby.

On the western side of the river the Paugussetts continued to reside quietly on their reservations: one on Coram Hill in Huntington; and one, of about eighty acres, on Golden Hill in Bridgeport. In 1710, there were said to be twenty-five wigwams on Golden Hill and about sixty or eighty warriors in other parts of the town.* This, it must be observed, was over twenty years before the dispersion of the tribe after the death of Konckapotanauh. It is probable that this estimate is an exaggerated one, as in 1765 only three women and four men remained on Golden Hill, where lay the principal reservation of the tribe.† They enjoyed their reservations peaceably until about 1760, when they were ejected by some of the neighboring white proprietors who laid claim to all the land but about six acres, and enforced their claims by pulling down the Indian wigwams. Soon afterwards, [1763] John Sherman, Eunice Shoran, and Sarah Shoran, stated their wrongs to the Assembly, and asked that they might be righted, and that for themselves a suitable guardian might be appointed. Thomas Sherman of Fairfield was chosen guardian, and a committee was appointed to examine the grievances of the Indians and make a report. This report was unsatisfactory to the Assembly, and another committee was appointed, [1765] authorized to summon witnesses, and to call on the English claimants for their defense. The case was brought to trial; was decided in favor of the Indians; and the defendants were ordered to surrender the land. In consequence of this decision

* Rev. N. Birdsey's letter, 1761. † Indian Papers, Vol. II, Doc. 332.

a compromise was effected between the parties. The whites gave the Indians thirty bushels of corn and three pounds worth of blankets; and they also furnished them with twelve acres of land on the west bank of the Poquonnuc, and eight acres of woodland on Rocky Hill. For these considerations the Indians gave up their rights to all the remainder of their ancient reservation.*

In 1774, the number of Indians in Stratford, which then comprehended Monroe, Huntington, Trumbull and Bridgeport, was thirty-five.†

In 1791, the remnant of the Milford band complained to the Legislature, that some of their white neighbors carried away wood from their reservation. A bill was therefore passed, ordering the county court of New Haven to appoint an overseer for the Indians, who should be empowered to prosecute all trespassers, and also to lease out all the arable land, or otherwise improve it for the best advantage of the owners.‡ A few of this clan still live on about ten acres of land at Turkey Hill. The family name is Hatchet; they are mixed with negro blood; and they are all poor, degraded and miserable.§

As the Golden Hill Indians made little or no use of their land, and as their guardians were repeatedly obliged to advance them money for taxes and other expenses, the whole reservation was, forty or fifty years since, exposed for sale. The sum which it brought was very considerable, and was put out at interest for the benefit of the owners. In 1842, it amounted to eleven hundred and seventy-five dollars. At that time five hundred dollars

* Colonial Records, Vol X. † Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. X, p. 118.
‡ State Records, Vol. IV. § January, 1849.

were expended in purchasing a small house and twenty acres of land in the township of Trumbull.

The tribe now numbers two squaws, who live in an irregular connection with negroes, and six half breed children, all of whom are grown up but one. They are intemperate, but have been of about the same number for many years. Their family name is Sherman. There is another family, called the Pan tribe, who wander about in this part of the country, and seem to have no land. They number three adults and one boy, and resemble the Shermans in their character and habits. Such is the present state of the Paugussetts; flickering out of existence like the wick of a burnt-out candle.

The Woodbridge Indians, known as the Mack family, were from the Paugussetts, and moved many years ago to their rocky and thorny patch of territory in that township. Some were carried off by the small pox, and for ten or twelve years back none have remained, except one man and two women. One of the women, Old Eunice, as she was commonly called, died a number of years since. Her two children, Jim and Ruby, I have often seen coming into my native village, to sell parti-colored baskets and purchase provisions, the greater part, if not the whole, of which was usually rum. Ruby was short and thick, and her face was coarse and stupid. Jim's huge form was bloated with liquor; his voice was hoarse and hollow; and his steps, even when he was not intoxicated, were unsteady from the evil effects of ardent spirits. At present, I believe, they are all in their graves; at least it is years since I have seen them, or heard any one speak of them.

Other Indians of Fairfield County will now be men-

tioned, among whom the most notorious seems to have been a small sachem, variously known as Sam Mohawk, Chickens, Warrups Chickens and Chickens Wallups. He was said to be a Mohawk, by nation, and he is first known to us as living at Greensfarms between Westport and Fairfield. Having committed a murder here, probably upon some of his own race, he moved away from his old home and settled in the town of Reading.* In 1720, he received here the Indian belt which came from Towattowau, and forwarded it to the village of the Potatucks. Five years after, [March 1st, 1725,] he sold all his land to Samuel Couch of Fairfield for twelve pounds and six shillings; reserving to himself and his heirs liberty to fish and fowl on land and water, and also such a tract of land around his wigwam as a committee appointed by the Assembly should think proper. Such a tract was laid out for him, accordingly; but, owing to Chickens's ignorance of public business, the vote was never approved, and the appropriation remained incomplete. He subsequently, therefore, found himself deprived of all his land without the power of ever reclaiming it. Having laid the case before the Assembly, he obtained [1746] a grant of one hundred acres mostly arable and of a good quality.† Two years after, a man named John Read proposed to exchange with him; and, in place of his one hundred acres at Reading, to give him two hundred at Scatacook in the township of Kent. A considerable tribe had collected at this locality, and Chickens would thus find himself among his own race with no probability of being disturbed by the whites

* President Stiles's Itinerary.

† Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 114; Vol. II, Documents 25—30.

for some time. The land offered by Read, also, was well adapted to an Indian's wants. It was bounded on the east by the Housatonic, in which there was good fishing, and on the west by mountains where there was plenty of game. At Reading his fences were decayed, his trees partly gone, the English were gathering round him, and their beasts injured his crops. Having received permission from the Assembly, he made the exchange, [1749] and removed to Scatacook.* But Chickens was growing old and unable to support himself by labor; and in 1762 he petitioned the Assembly that thirty acres of his land might be sold, and the proceeds expended in paying his debts and providing for his future support. His request was granted, and the business was committed to his overseer, Jabez Smith. The old sagamore died not many years after, leaving his remaining land to his squaw and one or two children.

The Indians of Greenwich, Stamford and Norwalk, seem to have melted away unnoticed: a great part of them probably moved to other homes, and one portion appears to have settled for a time in what is now Ridgefield. We learn from the census of the Connecticut Indians, taken in 1774, that there were then only eight natives remaining in Greenwich, nine in Norwalk and not one in Stamford.†

The Ridgefield clan called themselves the Ramapoo Indians. About the beginning of the last century they were under the government of a sachem named Catoonah. On the tenth of October, 1708, Catoonah and his people sold out their country, for one hundred pounds, to a com-

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 31.
† Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. X, p. 118.

pany of settlers from Norwalk and Milford. The tract was estimated to contain twenty thousand acres; no reservation was made, and the Ramapoo Indians went their ways into the wide world, to seek a home where it might be found. Those besides Catoonah who put their marks to the sale were Woquacomick, Waspahchain, Wawkamawee, Naranoka and Caweherin. Three others, probably of some other tribe, signed as witnesses: Gootquas, Mahkee and Tawpormick.*

The township of New Fairfield, originally much larger than at present, was chiefly purchased of its ancient inhabitants in 1729. A tract of eight miles in length was then sold to the English settlers by Cockenon, Mauwehu and eleven others, who styled themselves, in the deed, "the rightful owners of all unsold lands in the grant of new fairfield"†

THE QUINNIPIACS.

Under this head are included the aboriginal inhabitants of New Haven, East Haven, Branford and Guilford. A reservation of thirty acres, laid out in three lots of ten acres each, was early made in East Haven for the Quinnipiacs. They used to cultivate these lots by rotation, each one being planted in its turn while the other two lay unused.‡ It is traditionary, I believe, that the last sachem of the tribe was named Charles, and that he was frozen to death in 1740.§ President Stiles assures us, on the other hand, that the last sachem was John Sanck, and that he died about the year 1730.‖

* Ridgefield Records, Vol. I, p. 1.

† Papers on Towns and Lands, Vol. VIII, Document 4.

‡ Colonial Records, Vol X. § Barber, p. 134. ‖ Itinerary.

This last author was told, in 1785, by one of the old citizens of Branford, that, fifty years before, that town was inhabited by fifty Indian men; and a Mr. Pardee of East Haven assured him that, in 1730, there were as many as three hundred Indians in East Haven, and that he could himself remember when their grown men outnumbered the town militia. I must confess that I look upon these estimates and comparisons as sheer exaggerations. If they were correct, then the aboriginal population of Branford and East Haven, in 1730, must have been five hundred souls. Yet in 1638, nearly a century before, the Quinnipiacs only counted forty-seven men, while the Indians of Guilford, if they were a separate tribe at all, (which I do not believe,) must have been considerably less numerous. Is it likely that the native population of this region had increased, or even remained stationary during this long period, while the surrounding tribes had so fearfully declined? But further: in 1774, only forty-four years after the date fixed by these old men, the number of Indians in Branford was only four, and in East Haven only eleven; yet no considerable emigration, that we can learn, had taken place. It is not by such sudden fits and starts, but by a steady and gradual decline, that the aboriginal population of Connecticut has disappeared.

About 1768 some of the Quinnipiacs removed to Farmington, where land was bought for them, among the Tunxis, with the proceeds of what they had sold in East Haven.* In 1774, twenty-three Indians resided in Guilford, which then comprehended Madison.† Eleven years later, those of Branford had all disappeared. At the

* Colonial Records, Vol. VI. † Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. X, p. 118.

present time the Quinnipiacs no longer exist, except in story.

The site of the ancient burying place of the Quinnipiacs in East Haven is still known, and several localities are pointed out where they are said to have had forts or villages. One of these strong holds was in the Indian cemetery on a hill which overlooks the harbor. In 1822, three graves were opened by the Rev. Mr. Dodd of East Haven. The skeletons were found three and a half feet below the surface, stretched on the bare sandstone rock, and exhibiting no appearance of any wrapper or inclosure. Every one had the head laid towards the southwest, where dwelt Cautantowit, and where the Indians believed heaven to be. Two of the skeletons had their arms laid by their sides: in the other case they were crossed over the breast after the manner of the whites. The thigh bones of one measured nineteen inches in length, the leg bone eighteen, and the arm, from the shoulder to the elbow, thirteen. The skeleton seemed to be that of a man about six feet and a half in length. No article of any description was discovered with the bones; but it was traditionary that, many years before, some graves were opened here, and found to contain a variety of Indian implements for cooking and war.*

The other Indians of New Haven County, with the exception of one band at Humphreysville, which will be noticed in the next chapter, have left few records of the time and manner of their disappearance. In 1774, there were twenty in Derby, four in Wallingford, one in Durham, and four in Waterbury.†

* Barber's Hist. Coll. of Conn., p. 207. † Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. X, p. 118.

THE RIVER INDIANS.

This was the ancient term for all the Indians residing on the banks of the Connecticut River and within the limits of Connecticut colony. The river population was considered numerous at one time; but it consisted of small clans who had little national strength and pride to bind them together, and who were thus easily broken and dispersed.

The Indians of Windsor gradually left their ancient seats, some removing among the Tunxis, and others settling in the towns of Salisbury and Sharon.

In 1730, the number of Indian men who used to come into Hartford on election and other great gala days was estimated at seventy or eighty. Thirty-two years after, President Stiles was informed that there were only six families remaining in Hartford and one in Windsor.* A remnant of the Podunk nation, living on the Hockanum River, remained in East Hartford as late as 1745, but in 1760 had entirely disappeared.†

In 1774, there were four Indians in Suffield, five in Hartford, six in Windsor, six in East Windsor, sixteen in Glastenbury, and seven in East Haddam.‡

The Wangunks remained for some time in Middletown and Chatham, living on three separate reservations. One of these was in the neighborhood called Newfield; and

* President Stiles's Itinerary. Indians, however, used to go to election from distant parts of the State, as for instance from Mohegan. Thus the above seventy or eighty Indian men were by no means all from Windsor and Hartford.

† President Stiles's Itinerary. ‡ Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. X, p. 118.

on this the Indians stayed and held lands as late as 1713. Another was laid out, at an early date, on the west side of the river, for one Sawsean and his descendants. The third consisted of three hundred acres on the opposite bank, which was set aside by the town in 1675, "for the heirs of Sowheag and for the Mattabesett Indians."*

As a considerable number of Wangunks still remained in 1734, a man named Richard Treat conceived the benevolent idea of trying to improve them by education and religious teaching. Being encouraged in his design by several of the neighboring ministers, he commenced, on the sixth of January, with a small number of the Indian children. He was attended for some time by twelve or fourteen of these; and he maintained, also, a weekly meeting, with those of the adults of the tribe who would listen to him, for about two months. The governor of Connecticut, Joseph Talcott, approved his design and urged him to go on; but, at the end of four months, having found that no one felt disposed to assist or reward him, and that he had to bear all the expense and trouble alone, Mr. Treat became discouraged and gave up his efforts.

He found the Indians ignorant of the doctrines of the Scriptures and even of what the Scriptures were; so that quotations from them had no more weight on their opinions than a common proverb or one of his own observations. He was obliged, therefore, in his controversies with them, to appeal to such principles of morality and natural religion as they held among themselves. He was hindered, also, by the broken knowledge which the Indians had of the English tongue, and by their natural

* Statistical Account of Middlesex County, p.p 31, 35.

aversion to the humbling doctrines of Christianity. Once, when he was speaking of the resurrection of the dead, and of the judgment to come, one of them pointed to a pig which lay by the fire, and asked with a sneer if that pig would rise again like one of themselves. It would not do, the preacher thought, to answer this fool according to his folly, and he succeeded in silencing him by arguments, "although it took him a long time to do it."

During the latter part of the summer, after the school and religious services had been discontinued, the Wangunks held a great funeral dance. One Saturday, the second day of the ceremonies, Treat repaired to the place, partly to find out the numbers of the Indians, as the governor had requested him to do, and partly with the idea that his presence might operate as a restraint upon their extravagances. When he arrived, the Indians were dancing, singing and yelling; and some of those who knew him gathered around him, and bade him "begone, for he had no business there." "I come to see you as others do," said Treat. "You never order them away. Why are you so angry at my presence?"

"You come here to see if you cannot preach to us tomorrow," replied one of them in a rude tone; "but you shall not preach!"

"That is not my business here," said Treat; "but I am ready to do you what service I can. You are now taking off mourning clothes for one who is dead, and you ought to think of preparation for your own death. Others will wear mourning for you as you have worn it for him."

"You shall not preach!" still insisted the Indian. "Tomorrow is our day and you shall not preach!"

A number of Nehantics and Mohegans, however, gathered round Treat, and told him, that, if he wished to preach, they would assemble on the following day, at a certain house near by, and hear his discourse. On the morrow, therefore, which was Sunday, he went to the house in question, but found no listeners, all the Indians being too much interested in the dance. Hearing that there was a sick child among them, he went in search of it, thinking that he might be able to do it some service. He had succeeded in finding it, when some Indians came up and attempted to drive him away, although without offering violence. Finding this impossible, they told him, that, if he would go to a clump of trees ten or fifteen rods distant, they would follow and listen to his preaching. He complied, but had scarcely reached the trees when the Indians commenced a most hideous noise, beating their breasts, grunting and groaning, by way of an invocation to the devil. It seems that some Indian was suspected of having poisoned the deceased Wangunk, and they were now soliciting a revelation from the evil spirit as to whether the suspicion was just. Horrified and scandalized by the scene, Treat ran back, rushed in among them, and by his energetic corporeal interference put a very sudden end to their spiritual investigations. Some of them were prodigiously enraged, and seemed much inclined to dispatch him on the spot. They finally told him, that, if he would only go the trees again, they would certainly follow and listen to him. Treat did not believe it, and told them so; but still he walked away, to satisfy them, and to see what they would do. As he expected they re-commenced their orgies. He ran back and broke them

up as before. This happened several times; until the Indians, either wearied out with his perseverance, or having obtained all the information from diabolical sources which they expected, gave up the contest and desisted from their invocations. He now waited some time, to let them season, as he expressed it, for divine service; and then made them a discourse to which they listened without offering any disturbance.

His course on this occasion, singular as it may seem, appears to have been productive of good effects; for there was but little noise made the following night, while usually, at such times, the Indians kept up an astounding uproar. No similar ceremony was performed among the Wangunks for several years,* and there is nothing to show but that this was the very last.

The last sachem, but one, of the Wangunks was called Doctor Robbins; it is not known exactly when he died, but it was some little time previous to 1757. He left a son named Richard Ranney, who was brought up among the whites, spoke and wrote the English language, learned the trade of a joiner, and became a professor of religion.†

In 1764, the tribe still numbered between thirty and forty persons; but some of these were living among the Mohegans, and others had migrated to Hartford and Farmington. Those who remained consisted of two squaws and their three children. One of the squaws, Mary Cuschoy or Tike, was the blind and aged widow of Cuschoy, the last sachem of the tribe. She had been supported for twelve months previous by the town.‡

* Ecclesiastical Papers, Vol. V. † Indian Papers. Vol. III Doc'ts 131, 136.
‡ Indian Papers, Vol. I, Documents 132, 232.

In 1764, a committee appointed for the purpose sold a large part of the lands; and, on the first of June, 1765, reported that they had on hand funds to the amount of one hundred and sixty-three pounds and nineteen shillings in continental bills, and about one hundred pounds in obligations not yet collected. By 1772, over ninety pounds of this sum had been expended in the support of old Mary Cuschoy: the rest, also, was probably laid out, in one way or another, for the benefit of the Indians.*

The Wangunks were willing to dispose of their land, and the third religious society in Middletown† was anxious to purchase it. Several petitions were presented to the Assembly, in the name of both parties, and in 1765, a committee was appointed to sell the land, and use the proceeds for the benefit of the proprietors. A part only seems to have been disposed of; for, some years after, [1769,] Samuel Ashpo and nine others, then living at Farmington, obtained permission from the Assembly to sell their remaining lands at Wangunk.

Mary Cuschoy was living on the town of Chatham as late as 1771. Three years later, the number of Indians residing in that township was two.‡ In 1785, a committee was appointed by the Legislature to collect all the money due on the Indian lands at Wangunk, and pay it over to the proprietors, who seem, at that time, to have entirely left the place. Thus ended the national existence of the Wangunks, or, as they were sometimes called, the Wangums.§

* Colonial Records, Vols. X and XI.

† This society is now in Chatham, which was then a part of Middletown.

‡ Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. X, p. 118.

§ Colonial Records, Vol. X. Indian Papers, Vol. II, Doc'ts 234—236.

In various parts of Middletown and Chatham, Indian skeletons have been exhumed. They were found in a sitting posture, with food, utensils, arms, ornaments and wampum around them. In 1808, three Indian graves were opened in Chatham. In one of them there was the skeleton of a man, sitting, and wrapped in a blanket. On exposure to the earth the blanket crumbled as if it had been reduced to cinders. In the man's lap were two small brass kettles containing a spoon, a knife, a vial and a pipe. One arm of the skeleton was passed around the kettles, and it was observed that, where the flesh had been in contact with the brass, it was in a state of preservation. The other two graves contained skeletons of children, one of which held in its hand a small brass cup. In this instance, also, the flesh had not perished where it touched the brass; and, what was more curious still, the other side of the cup had disappeared, as if the flesh and the brass preserved each other. Around the wrist was wampum strung on deer skin, and near by were beads, of the hearts of oyster shells, which may have been around the neck. In the grave of the other child was a copper box containing wampum strung on deer leather.*

THE TUNXIS.

The Tunxis continued to reside for some time on their two reservations in Farmington, without any important incident happening to them which has been recorded. Of that part of the tribe which lived in Massacoe or Simsbury, some had fled from their country during Philip's

* Statistical Account of Middlesex County, p. 9.

war. and in 1710 only a few families were remaining. Some years later, a single individual still possessed a little tract of land, on the east side of Farmington River, near the south line of the town. In 1750, this man, as well as every other representative of the Massacoe Indians, had disappeared.*

The main body of the tribe was joined in 1730 by the Indians of Hartford;† and it received, also, at various times, re-enforcements from Windsor, Middletown and other parts of the Connecticut valley.

A historical discourse, delivered by Professor Porter of Yale College, states that an Indian school was taught in Farmington by Mr. Newton, and perhaps by Mr. Hooker: the former, minister in that town from 1648 to 1657, and the latter, from 1658 to 1697. In the colonial records, from 1733 to 1736, are repeated notices of such a school then in existence. Bills, amounting to sixty-one pounds and six shillings, "for the dieting of the Indian youth at two shillings a week," were presented in 1735 and 1736, and liquidated out of the colonial treasury. Judging from these bills I should conclude that the number of scholars who were boarded could not have amounted to more than five or six. Rev. Samuel Whitman, at this time minister in Farmington, seems first to have brought it to the notice of the Assembly; and it is probable that, like his predecessors, he officiated as its teacher. Now, from the time when Mr. Newton must have established his school, to 1736, when the one alluded to above is last mentioned on the records, is a period of more than eighty years. But it seems scarcely possible that such an institution could have

* Phelps's History of Simsbury. † President Stiles's Itinerary.

been kept up so long a time, without attracting considerable attention, and leaving behind it some traces more extensive than the two or three brief records to which I have adverted. We may suppose, therefore, that it existed at intervals during the consecutive ministries of Mr. Newton, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Whitman. We have the authority of the above discourse for saying that, at one time, fifteen or sixteen scholars attended the school; that a few of the Tunxis were admitted as freemen, and that a few became members of the church. Indeed it seems to be traditionary in Farmington that a number of the Indians of that place, in early times, made a profession of religion; while to verify this tradition from written statements, at the present day, is probably utterly impossible. Farmington was not a very learned town anciently, not being able for a while to keep its own records without assistance from Hartford;* and, from this cause or some other, the church records were either not kept at all, or were kept in marvelous confusion. At the accession of Mr. Whitman they were put in proper order; but his list of church members only shows two Indian professors: Solomon Mossock admitted June, 1763, and Eunice Mossock admitted September, 1765.

In 1738, two of the Tunxis memorialized the Assembly on behalf of their tribe, alleging that nearly all their land in Indian Neck had been usurped from them by the neighboring whites. Eighteen or twenty of the settlers were concerned in these aggressions, most, if not all, of whom claimed that they had obtained the land they held, by

* Such was the case with some other towns in the State, not one person in the community being sufficiently erudite to officiate as town clerk.

purchase.* No effect seems to have been produced by this memorial, and the affair remained unsettled for many years. But in 1768 another petition, of a similar purport, was presented by James Wauwus. A committee which was appointed on the subject by the Assembly made the following report. The English claimants had obtained entire possession of Indian Neck, by various purchases, some of them made for valuable considerations. Some of these purchases were never acknowledged; some were acknowledged, but never recorded; and only four had, according to law, been ratified by the Assembly. They stated that the reservation really amounted to only one hundred aud forty acres. Finally, they recommended that a committee should be appointed to lay out to the English claimants what they were entitled to, and surrender the rest to the Indians. Wauwus and others of the Tunxis sent in a remonstrance against this report, alleging that all but four of the deeds mentioned were void in law, and that, moreover, the committee had made a great mistake as to the amount of the reservation. Both these allegations were true: the Assembly, therefore, negatived the committee's recommendation, and the affair lingered on for some time longer.†

By these petitions it appears that several of the Tunxis at this time understood the use of letters. It is probable that they had been scholars in the school mentioned as having existed in 1735. James Wauwus was one of the number, and Solomon Mossuck, Charles and Elijah Wimpsey, James Cusk and Thomas Carrington were others.

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Documents 171 and 172.
† Indian Papers, Vol. II, Documents 179, 180, 191.

An aged citizen of Farmington, who died some few years ago, and who was born about 1730, used to say that, within his recollection, the Indian children in the district school were not much fewer than those of the whites. In their snow-balling parties, the former used to take one side and the latter another, when they would be so equally balanced in numbers and prowess, as to render the battle a very tough one and the result doubtful. This, of course, must have been at least as early as 1750.

In 1761, the tribe was estimated at something less than twenty-five families. They had moved back from their original position, and resided chiefly in the northwest part of Farmington, and in the adjoining township of New Hartford.* A considerable number removed, about this time, either before or after, to Stockbridge in Massachusetts. In 1774, the number of Indians in Farmington was forty-three, and in New Hartford thirteen.†

During this year, [1774,] Elijah Wimpsey and Solomon Mossock petitioned the Assembly, in behalf of their tribe, for a copy of the laws of Connecticut. They stated that most of their people had formed some idea of English customs; that many had learned to read and write the English language; and, though poorly able to bear the expense, had furnished themselves with bibles and other books. They had been told that they were considered subjects of the colony, like their white neighbors; and they thought, therefore, that they ought to become acquainted with its laws. The Assembly, in reply, granted the petitioners a copy of the laws of the colony.‡

* President Stiles's Itinerary. † Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. X, p. 118.
‡ Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 195.

Only a few days after, another memorial was presented to the Assembly, by the same persons, accompanied by one John Adams who was probably one of the Quinnipiacs that had lately moved to Farmington. They said that the Six Nations had invited them to settle in the Oneida country, and had promised them a cordial reception and plenty of land. Being straitened where they were, they thought it would be better for themselves, and would afford an opportunity for the extension of the kingdom of Christ, if they should go. They therefore desired that Messrs. Strong, Gay and Gridley of Farmington might be appointed to assist them in the sale of their lands. The petition was granted, but two or three circumstances embarrassed the sale. The land was the common property of the tribe: the revolutionary war soon broke out, and the Mohawks took the British side. For these reasons the property was not sold: yet, for all this, some of the Tunxis removed to the Mohawk country, and others determined to follow. They thus found themselves in need of the avails of their land, and, in 1777, thirty-one of them petitioned that it might be divided among the individuals of the tribe. John Porter, Hezekiah Wadsworth and Solomon Whitman were appointed by the Assembly to undertake the division. They found the lands to consist of four separate tracts, amounting altogether to two hundred and sixty acres. Two hundred acres were situated on the west side of Pequawbuck meadow; another tract, purchased for the Quinnipiacs, amounted to sixteen acres and one hundred and twenty-eight rods; there were five acres at Fort Hill, and forty and a half acres at another place. The whole was divided

into sixty-five lots, of various sizes, but generally containing from four to five acres each. The number of males who shared was seventeen; the number of females twenty-four; and some individuals received two or three lots apiece. The report was approved by the Assembly and the division confirmed.*

Some of the Tunxis removed, after this, to Scatacook, and from thence to Stockbridge. Two of them, Elijah Wimpsey and Samuel Adams, having been driven from the latter place by Indians in the British interest, applied for relief to the Assembly of Connecticut, and obtained a grant of £33 1*s.* 8*d.* Adam, the Quinnipiac, removed to the Mohawk country previous to 1776, and his land was sold. In 1804, some of the Tunxis still lived, and held property, in Farmington, and were under the care of an overseer.†

At the present time they have all disappeared from their ancient home. One miserable creature, a man named Mossock, still lives in Litchfield, perhaps the sole remnant of the tribe.

In the burying ground of Farmington, which was also the Indian burying ground, and which looks out upon the river valley and upon Indian Neck, a small monument has been erected to the memory of the Tunxis. It is grateful to see such a memorial of the poor aborigines, and one can only regret that the execution of the design did not correspond with the emotions which prompted its conception. The monument is about six feet high: the cap has never been placed, or else has been removed: the

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 199.

† Indian Papers, Vol. II. State Records, Vol. VII.

material is red sandstone, coarse and crumbly in its texture, and the inscriptions upon it are fast obliterating under the influence of the winds and storms. These inscriptions mention that, according to tradition, this spot was the scene of a bloody battle between the Tunxis and the Stockbridges; that, according to another tradition, and judging from the many skeletons discovered here, the place was once used as a cemetery by the aborigines, and that some of these scattered remains have been collected and decently interred beneath this stone. So sleep the Tunxis. So in time, perhaps will sleep the race which has succeeded them.

THE NIPMUCKS AND QUINNEBAUGS.

These Indians, living entirely under the domination of the Mohegans, never sold any land for themselves, except the tract purchased by John Winthrop, all the rest of their country being granted away by the chiefs of the family of Uncas. This circumstance saved both them and the colony of Connecticut an incalculable amount of quarreling and vexation. They had no petitions to present to the Legislature: there were no long and expensive law suits to be sustained against them; and no committees to be appointed to examine into, and settle, the state of their affairs. For this reason there are almost no records concerning the Indians of this part of the State, and very little can be related of them, except a few unimportant anecdotes.

A considerable number of Nipmucks lived in Thompson, the most northeasterly town in the State; and it is traditionary that one of their chiefs, named Quinnatisset, had

a grand wigwam near the spot where now stands the congregational church. Their strong hold, however, was on Fort Hill, an eminence about three quarters of a mile easterly, where the rude foundations of a fortress can yet be traced. Individuals who wander into the neighboring forests still find, here and there, the hills and rows of the Indian cornfields, now thickly covered over with sturdy trees. The Indians were well supplied with fish from the streams and ponds, and especially from a considerable body of water extending from Thompson into Massachusetts, which bore the discouraging name of Chargoggagoggmanchogaggogg. This pond is studded with little islands; and tradition affirms, though not with much probability, that the Nipmucks regarded it as the scene of their paradise; the place where the Great Spirit lived; where the shades of their departed friends wandered; and where, after death, they should be delightfully employed forever in fishing and hunting.

An aboriginal tradition has been preserved concerning a pond, called Mashapaug,* which lies in the western part of Killingly. It is said that, on the spot occupied by this pond there once stood a mountain, and that a small island in the pond, called Loon's Island, constituted the top of this mountain. But in ancient times, after the red men of this region had long enjoyed an abundance of fish and game, they grew gluttonous and wicked, and provoked the anger of the Great Spirit. Finally, they appointed a festival on the top of a mountain covered with tall pine trees, and there they spent four days in feasting and revelry. At the end of this time, the Great Spirit could

* Commonly known as Alexander's Lake.

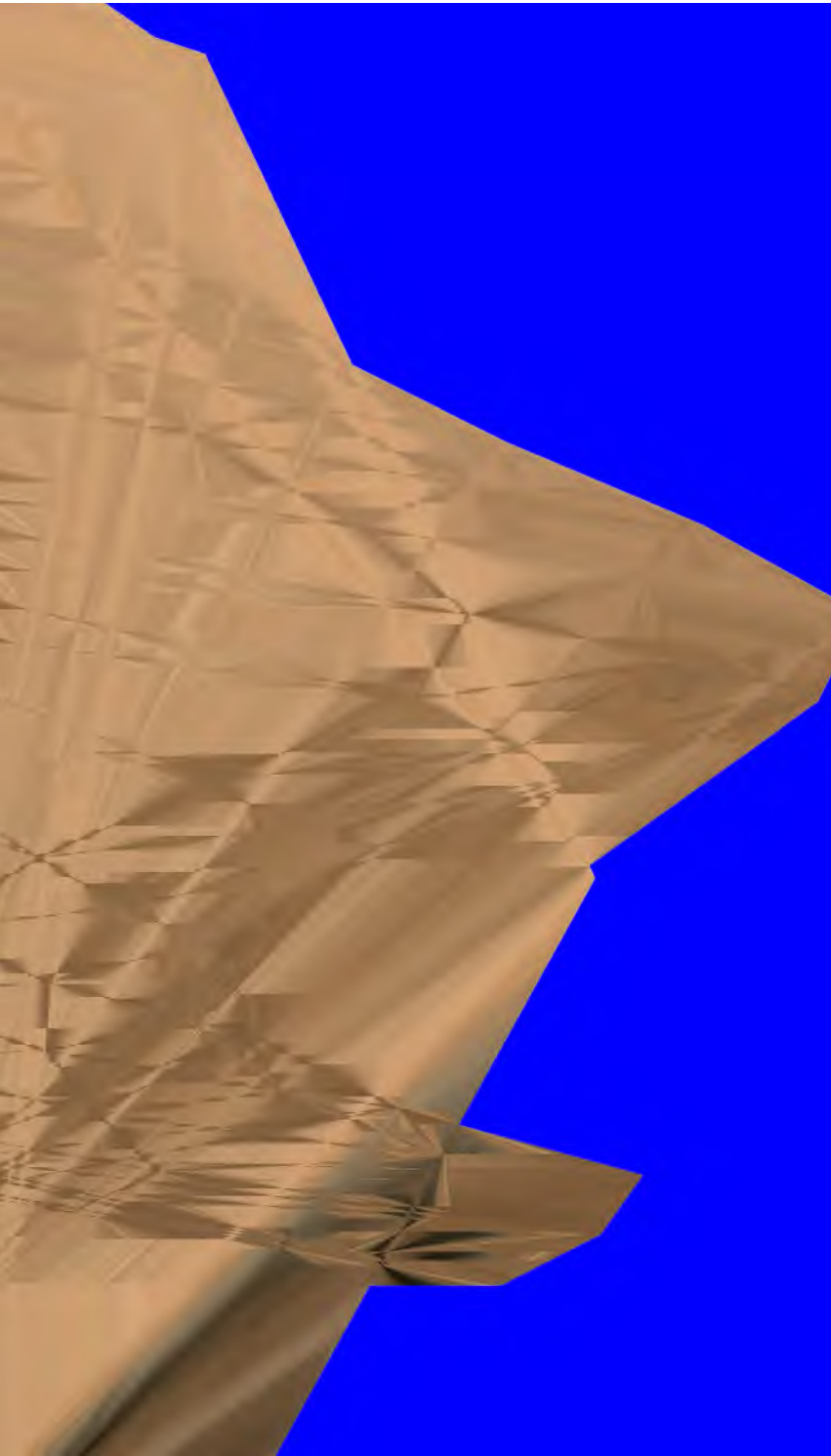
no longer contain his anger at their wickedness, and resolved to overwhelm them with a quick and awful destruction. While, therefore, the Indians were still capering about the sides of the mountain it suddenly sunk down into a great cavity; the subterranean waters rose around it, and all the red people perished, except one good old squaw who stood on the very summit of the eminence. Such, says tradition, was the origin of Mashapaug Lake. Even at the present day it is soberly affirmed, that the boatman who will push out into the deepest parts of the water, may, in a clear day, see the trunks of pine trees reaching up from the bottom towards the surface.

The Indians were somewhat troublesome to the first settlers of this region, who, being few and scattered, durst not use force to resist their impositions. A large party would sometimes call at a white man's house, demanding its hospitality, and threatening by their numbers and appetite to bring the household to utter starvation. Sometimes they employed stratagem for the sake of obtaining admission; and, in the morning, when the astonished settler came to count his guests, he would find half a dozen new ones who had been dexterously smuggled in among the baggage and pappooses. Friendship was always preserved, however, between the whites and their wild acquaintances, and the two races often joined together in amicable sports and trials of strength. The Indians were fond of wrestling, although they were generally thrown by the whites, whose muscles, hardened by labor and regular habits, were stronger than those of the indolent savages. A certain Joseph Cady, one of the first settlers of Killingly, was one day cutting brush alone,

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JACOB SHAU[illegible]'S ADVENTURE.

when an Indian approached him from the neighboring forest, and expressed a strong desire to try the skill of a white man in wrestling. Cady thought to himself that, if he could throw the fellow, it might operate to deter the Indians from hostilities against the settlements, and accordingly accepted the challenge. Both men struggled long and desperately, but Cady at last prevailed and the Indian was prostrated. Unfortunately he fell among the brush which his antagonist had been cutting, and, one of the sharp stumps perforating his skull, he died on the spot.

In 1720, Jacob Spalding, also an early settler of Killingly, had a curious adventure with an Indian creditor. He had purchased a deer skin of the Indian, and had paid him with one of the paper notes, called tenor bills, issued by the colony. The man put the bill in his pocket; but, being somewhat intoxicated at the time, soon forgot that he had ever received it, and again demanded payment for his deer skin. Jacob was indignant, of course, at what he considered such a bare-faced attempt at imposition, and refused compliance. A wordy squabble ensued which ended by the Indian's going away, muttering that he would have revenge. The next day, as Jacob was shingling a barn, he saw his late creditor approaching, accompanied by two of his tribe. He jumped down, met them, and was again asked to pay for the deer skin. He refused. One of the Indians, who seemed to be a sachem, then stated in broken English, that he had come to see fair play, and laid it down as perfectly honorable that two Indians should fight with one white man. His two friends then attacked Spalding; who, however, defended himself with such dexterity and success, that he laid

them both on the ground and gave them a sound drubbing. The sachem looked on, in the mean time, with great impartiality, and gave his fellows no further encouragement in their tribulation than, "Poor dogs! poor dogs! me hope he kill you both!"

Thus ended this skirmish; but the day after, as Jacob was again mounted on his barn, he saw the same Indians coming towards him, the one who fancied himself cheated bearing a rifle which he was in the act of loading. But, putting his hand into his pocket to find a ball, he drew out the identical bill, the loss of which had caused all this trouble. Conscience-struck, he said to Jacob who was coming to meet him, "Me believe now, Jacob, you paid me de bill." Jacob now turned to the sachem and said, "You, who have come to see fair play, what shall we do with this fellow?" "Tie him to de tree and whip him," was the laconic sentence. This was no great justice, perhaps, but it was well administered; for the culprit, being tied up by the combined puissance of all hands, was soundly threshed to strengthen his memory. Such was his mortification at the whole affair, and particularly at the flogging, that he soon afterwards left that part of the country and never returned.*

The great revival of 1740 and 1741, which affected the Mohegans and the Pequots, also reached the Indians on the Quinnebaug. Many of them seemed to become converted; they reformed from drinking; they conversed much on religious subjects; they held meetings among themselves for prayer and exhortation; and numbers of

* The above traditions and anecdotes are from Barber's Hist. Coll. of Conn. Thompson and Killingly.

them showed such evidence of piety that they were admitted as members of English churches.* How sincere and how lasting this impression was, we do not know; but we may presume that it mostly faded away before many years, like the effects of the same excitement in other aboriginal tribes. It is said, that Samson Occom preached a few times among the Quinnebaug Indians, and it is very possible, therefore, that he did so during this period.

In 1774, Windham and Tolland counties contained one hundred and forty-two Indians, who were divided as follows: twelve in Killingly, twenty-five in Plainfield, twelve in Pomfret, eleven in Canterbury, six in Voluntown, nineteen in Windham, thirty-eight in Woodstock, five in Tolland, two in Coventry and twelve in Mansfield.† Since that time their diminution has still continued; and it is now more than thirty years since the last of the Killingly band, a pious female named Martha, was laid in her unpretending grave. Of the other Indians of this part of the State I do not know that now even one exists.

THE WESTERN NEHANTICS.

It is difficult to conjecture in what way the lands of the western Nehantics passed from their possession into that of the colonists. They were not willed away by Attawanhood; they were not covered by the sales of Chapeto and Captain Sannup; and the only other Indian sale preserved in the Lyme records refers to a tract of very inconsiderable dimensions. A reservation was indeed made

* Trumbull, Vol. II. † Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. X, p. 118.

for the natives when Lyme and New London were incorporated, stretching from the Niantic River four miles westward, and running north from the seacoast as far as the bounds of those townships. This territory, however, was afterwards absorbed into Lyme and New London; and I am entirely ignorant as to whether its original inhabitants ever received or claimed for it any remuneration. The first definite fact which I can state concerning the matter, is, that in 1672, the Nehantics had no land of their own, and were then furnished with three hundred acres by Lyme, on condition of bringing in a wolf's head annually.*

In 1693, their chief man seems to have been one Obed, whom, during the same year, we find, with his fellows, very unwisely entering into some arrangements with their white neighbors. For a small consideration they allowed one Joseph Bull to have the herbage from one hundred acres of their land, on condition that he would not interfere with their plowing and planting. This bargain soon began to work against the Indians, like almost every other of the bargains between them and their civilized neighbors. Before many years had elapsed the horses and cattle of Joseph Bull, his neighbors and descendants, in their pursuit after the above mentioned herbage, were running all over the Indian reservation, pushing down the fences of the poor Nehantics and devouring their crops. In 1728, they presented a memorial of their grievances to the Assembly, complaining that the English animals were turned into their fields to feed even after the corn and beans had come up and been weeded. The Assembly

* Colonial Records, Vol. III.

granted them a pound, which was to be built by the east society of Lyme; and appointed an overseer for the tribe, vesting him with power to prosecute all trespassers upon the Indian lands.*

In 1734, the number of families in the tribe was about thirty, so that the number of individuals may have been not far from one hundred and fifty. They were nearly all heathen, still believing in their ancient gods; and many of them were possessed with bitter prejudices against Christianity. Messrs. Griswold and Parsons, the two ministers of Lyme, proposed to establish schools and preaching among them; but the Indians refused to listen, asserting that the English had treated them dishonestly with regard to their lands. The two clergymen presented a memorial to the Assembly, representing these facts, and praying that the bounds of the Nehantic land might be surveyed and marked out. A committee, authorized to examine the case, and see that the Nehantics were placed in quiet possession of their rights, was chosen. The committee surveyed the land, fixed the bounds, and ordered that the inclosing fences should be erected by the neighboring English proprietors. The latter, however, claimed all or nearly all the herbage on the land, and the Assembly was compelled to admit the legality of the claim. These measures somewhat soothed the temper of the Nehantics, and many of them expressed a desire to have their children instructed.† In 1736, one of the Masons of Stonington visited them and made them an address. In May of the same year his example was followed by a

* Colonial Records, Vol. V. Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 132.

† Indian Papers, Vol. I, Documents 167, 168.

clergyman named Adams, probably Eliphalet Adams of Mohegan. The Nehantics told this gentleman that Captain Mason had promised them a school, and they begged him to see that the promise was fulfilled. Mr. Adams petitioned to the Assembly; a grant of fifteen pounds was obtained, and with this sum a man named Ely was hired to open a school for the Nehantics.*

Six or seven years after this, the great religious interest of New England spread among the Narragansetts, Pequots and Mohegans, and finally reached the western Nehantics. Together with about one hundred English, Mr. Griswold, the minister of Lyme, admitted into his church thirteen Indians.† These were, perhaps, the first of the tribe who forsook their ancient superstitions; and, at all events, they were the first who cordially embraced the Christian faith.

Some of the Nehantics were still dissatisfied with the tenure of their lands, and nineteen of them presented [1743] a memorial on the subject to the Assembly. From this paper we learn that the English farmers claimed the grass on two hundred acres of the reservation and the fall feed of the remaining one hundred. The petitioners accused three men, named John and Jonathan Prentiss and Thomas Mannering, of having taken possession of the southern hundred acres and inclosed them. They complained that their guardians were old men and not able to perform their duties. The Nehantics, they said, wished to live like Christian people, and keep cattle, hogs and swine, which, in the present state of things, was difficult, if not impossible.‡

* Colonial Records, Vol. VI. Indian Papers, Vol. I.

† Trumbull, Vol. II, p. 146. ‡ Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 251.

A committee was appointed to investigate the subject, but its proceedings did not satisfy the Indians, and bickerings still continued between them and the farmers. At one time the former owned a few cattle and swine, and wished to pasture them at pleasure on the reservation. The farmers, however, still claimed the herbage of all the lower hundred acres and a share in that of the middle hundred. They threatened to impound the animals of the Indians if these claims were not respected, and actually did impound some of them. Something in this style, now quiet and now disturbed, matters went on till 1762. Two men, named Joseph Smith and Edward Champlin, then laid claim to part of the reservation by virtue of a grant formerly made to Jonathan Bull of Hartford, descending from him to his sons, and made over by them to Nehemiah Smith of Groton. A compromise was effected, by which the upper hundred acres was equally divided with regard to both quantity and quality: one half was retained by the Indians, and the other made over to Smith and Champlin.*

The last sachem of the Nehantics was a Pequot, named Yummanum, who died about 1740. In 1761, President Stiles visited the tribe and found it to consist of eighty-five persons, living in eleven houses and seven wigwams. there were nine widows, ten married men with their wives, and fifty-six children, large and small. The large number of widows is explained by the fact that, from 1755 to 1761 eighteen men of the Nehantics had joined the colonial troops in the war against Canada, and seven out of this number had died or been killed in the service.†

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 124. † President Stiles's Itinerary.

It is probable that this census of President Stiles extended only to the Indians immediately around Black Point: for, in 1774 it was shown by the colonial census, that the number of Indians in the whole township was one hundred and four.* In 1783, the number of families remaining at Nehantic was sixteen: only one of them living in wigwams: all the rest in rude houses. One of the tribe, named Simon Hobart, served in the Connecticut line during the revolutionary war and received pay like other soldiers. Some have sold their lands in late years, by permission of the Legislature, and have removed to Brothertown, or to other places where bands of Indians existed. Trespasses have hardly yet ceased upon the property of the Nehantics, as appears from an enactment passed in 1836, by which a fine of five dollars was imposed upon any one who should carry a load of wood off from the reservation.†

At the present time the amount of the Nehantic land is about two hundred and forty acres, of which rather more than half is cleared, and, for the most part, used as pasture. Very little is cultivated, or otherwise employed, by the Nehantics, the rest being rented by white farmers. The Indians have some bank stock and a quantity of money at interest, but their whole annual income is not above one hundred and thirty dollars. Some of the tribe have, in years back, removed to Oneida County, New York, and at present it amounts to only ten individuals. All but one are full-blooded, and this one has no share in the income of the property. Some of them occasionally go to sea; but they all make it their residence in Lyme,

* Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. X, p. 118. † State Records, Vol. XXI.

except one who usually resides at Mohegan. They have but one house, and their only other dwellings consist of two wigwams. For some years they have kept but few cattle, and, at present, their whole stock amounts to one horse, one cow and fifteen or twenty sheep. Two of them are much addicted to intemperance: the others go to meeting, send their children to school, and are generally moral, and, to a certain extent, industrious. Such is the condition of the western Nehantics in the year eighteen hundred and forty-nine.

A few monuments remain of their ancient existence, as fleeting, and as unobtrusive in their nature, as that existence itself has been. Arrow heads and stone hatchets are sometimes found in the soil; large deposits of shells have been discovered even at a distance from the seashore; skeletons have been exhumed by inhabitants of Lyme in digging their cellars; and the Niantic River, with its ceaseless washings, has exposed skulls and bones which were once interred on its banks.*

Thus closes, for the present, the history of all the primitive tribes of Connecticut, with the exception of the Pequots and the Mohegans. It is a history which opens in all the freshness and wildness of savage life, amidst the rustling of unbroken forests, and in hearing of the long-drawn howl of the wolf and the piercing yell of the panther. It closes amid the presence of busy multitudes, the clangor of Sabbath bells, the strokes of the printing press, the puff of the steamboat, and the thundering rush

* For the above information concerning the present condition of the Nehantics, I am indebted to a letter (dated December 3d, 1849) from their overseer, Calvin S. Manwaring, Esq., of East Lyme.

of the locomotive. The change has been complete, and in its nature marvelous; but the space over which that change extends has been a space of two hundred and twenty years. It can hardly be accounted singular, that, in this period, an attenuated and feeble barbarism should have given way before a full and vigorous civilization.

CHAPTER X.

HISTORY OF THE NEW TRIBES FORMED IN THE NORTH AND WEST OF CONNECTICUT.

THE present chapter will contain the history of the new tribes which were formed among the Indians by aggregation from the older communities. These tribes will be only four: the New Milford Indians; the Indians of Sharon and Salisbury; the Scatacook Indians of Kent, and the Naugatuc Indians of Humphreysville. Other settlements of the same kind may have existed; but, with the exception of one at Ridgefield, and a very insignificant one at Woodbridge, both for obvious reasons already mentioned, none such have come to my knowledge.

NEW MILFORD INDIANS.

The clan which collected at New Milford was quite considerable in size, although I cannot find that it ever had a distinctive name. It was unquestionably a mere collection of refugees and wanderers, who had migrated hither from the southern and eastern parts of Connecticut, to escape from the vicinity of the English settlements. Its numbers seem to have been large about the beginning of the last century, although it is perfectly incredible that

it could have mustered, as some authors have affirmed, two or three hundred warriors. The manuscripts of President Stiles state them at three hundred; and a century sermon preached in 1801 by the Rev. Stanley Griswold, then of New Milford, puts them at two hundred. Both these gentlemen had good opportunities for obtaining information, yet I must still be allowed to express my incredulity. Tradition is always unsafe, and always exaggerates; and even our recollection, when it refers to events which happened in our youth, inclines us often to exceed the truth, never to underrate it. For the soundness of these positions I would be willing to submit to the judgment of any judicious person, who has had experience in collecting oral information on a historical subject, and comparing that information with written facts. When Gookin, in 1674, wrote his Historical Collections of the Indians of New England, he was told by the "ancient Indians" that, forty years previous, the Pequots could muster four thousand warriors. Yet, in that early period to which he alludes, the Pequots themselves stated their numbers at only seven hundred warriors. When I was in the eastern part of the State, inquiring into the condition of the North Stonington Pequots, one gentleman assured me that they were rapidly declining; that thirty years ago they numbered as many as twenty families, and that during a very few years back they had diminished full two-thirds. Yet, when I came to prosecute my inquiries, I was informed, on unquestionable authority, that, thirty years ago they numbered not more than ten families, and that at the present time they are nearly as numerous as they were then. Other examples might easily

be given of the fallacy of estimates, traditions and reminiscences, on this subject, and of their invariable tendency to exaggeration. I must, therefore, disbelieve that the New Milford Indians could raise three hundred warriors, and must be allowed to question whether they could even muster one-third of that number. The rapidity with which they disappeared, and the sparse population of the tribes from which they congregated, render it improbable that they could have been very numerous.

The first settlers of New Milford were from the old town of Milford on the Sound. They bought the township from the native proprietors, on the eighteenth of February, 1703, for sixty pounds in money and twenty pounds in goods. The first Indian name mentioned in the deed, and the first on the list of signers, was Papetoppe; from whence it is possible that he at that time was sachem. The others are Rapiscotoo, Towcomis, Nanhootoo, Hawwasues, Yoncomis, Shoopack, Wewinapouck, Docames, Paramethe, Wewinapuck, Chequeneag, Papiream, Nokopurrs and Paconaus. It is witnessed by the interpreter, John Minor; and by Ebenezer Johnson, John Durand, Wonawak and Tomaseete. Although this purchase was made in 1703, it was not recorded until 1756, more than half a century afterwards; being found in the records, not on the first page of the first volume, where it ought to be, but on the two hundred and sixty-ninth page of the ninth volume. This fact and others similar give us reason to conclude that some, if not many, Indian deeds are now lying in oblivion, or have been totally lost, for want of being recorded. The proportion of Connecticut which we can prove to have been sold by the Indians to the

whites is much less extensive than that which unquestionably was thus sold.

A considerable tract of ground, which is now known as the Indian fields, and lies on the west side of the Housatonic, opposite to the village of New Milford, still remained to the Indians after this sale. This tract was sold in 1705, [September 8th,] to John Mitchell of Woodbury, by one Shamenunckgus, who styled himself its sole proprietor. The paper was signed by Shamenunckgus himself, by Papetoppe, who signed the first sale, Chesqueneag, Whemut, Wannuppe, Cuttouckes, Joman, Appacoco, Yongan, Yongan's squaw, Papetoppe's squaw and Mantooe's mother.* These rolls of unmusical and outlandish names may seem tiresome and uninteresting to the majority of readers; yet those who have toiled among Indian records, and who look with interest and kindness upon the mementoes of that faded race, will know how to excuse me for introducing them into my narrative.

Whether Papetoppe or Shamenunckgus were sachems is uncertain; but, if they were, they were soon succeeded by another whose name has acquired much more notoriety. This was Raumaug, or Weraumaug, whom we find in 1716 selling, in conjunction with one Nepato, a large tract of land north of New Milford. It stretched twenty-five miles along the east bank of the Housatonic, was one mile in width, and was bought by Benjamin Fairweather of Hartford for twenty-nine pounds.†

The country around New Milford was styled Wyantenock; and the chief residence of the Indians was at the

* New Milford Records, Vol. II, p. 3. Recorded November 26th, 1714.
† June 28th, 1716. New Milford Records, Vol. I, p. 73.

falls on the Housatonic, called by the natives Metichawon. This rapid descent of water formed an excellent fishing place, especially in the spring, when great numbers of lamprey eels came swarming up the river and vainly attempted to ascend the cascade. At this spot, and not far, probably, from the bank of the river, stood the palace or great wigwam of Weraumaug. It was constructed of a frame of poles, covered with bark laid on and fastened with unusual care. The smooth side of the bark was inwards, and was adorned with pictures of many kinds of known beasts, birds, fishes and insects, and some, too, no doubt, which were never known. The artist who executed these drawings was an Indian, and had been sent to Weraumaug by a sachem, living at a great distance, who was his friend.

President Stiles tells us, that the Indians of New Milford were on terms of alliance with those who lived at Scatacook or Kent, at Pomperaug or Woodbury, at Bantom or Litchfield, and at Weataug or Salisbury.* The clan at Woodbury, however, was merely a part of the Potatucks; that at Litchfield was no doubt extremely insignificant; while the one at Scatacook was not formed till 1728, nor that at Salisbury till still later. The range of tribes living on the Housatonic combined, it is said, in a system of signals, consisting of cries which might be heard from one eminence to another, by means of which an alarm could be conveyed down the river, in three hours, over a line of—nobody pretends to tell how many miles. Some of the heights in New Milford still bear such names as Fort Hill, Guarding Mountain, to show

* Itinerary.

that they were once occupied by the fortresses and look-out stations of the Indians.

As I have already mentioned, the natives early parted with the Indian fields; but they long kept a reservation at the falls in the Housatonic; and Weraumaug also made another, of two thousand acres, which was comprised in what is now the society of New Preston in Washington. This last was sometimes called the hunting grounds of Weraumaug, and was eventually sold (some of it, at least,) by Chere, son of the sachem.

The Rev. Daniel Boardman, ordained in 1716 the first minister of New Milford, became much interested in Weraumaug, and often mentioned him with great respect. In one of his letters, quoted by Trumbull, he calls him "a distinguished sachem," speaks of "his great abilities and eminent virtues," and declares, though very incorrectly, that he was the most powerful chieftain that ever lived in Connecticut. He took great pains to instruct him in the truths of the Christian religion; and, from his evidence, it would seem that the sachem's death-bed was softened by penitence and cheered by hope. During his last illness, Mr. Boardman constantly attended him, and endeavored to impress and confirm upon his mind the vital truths of Christianity. It was a sad place for a sick and dying man; for all the other Indians, and even the sachem's wife, were bitterly opposed to the English religion, ahd exerted their utmost influence to keep him true to the cheerless faith of his ancestors.* Their conduct

* Thus far from Trumbull, Vol. II, pp. 83, 84; and Barber, pp. 475, 476. Barber copies from the sermon, before referred to, by Mr. Griswold; and that gentleman drew, for authority, from a manuscript left by the Rev. Daniel Boardman.

was rude and abusive towards the good minister; and scenes sometimes occurred which, in spite of the solemnity of the occasion, were little less than ludicrous. Once, in particular, while Mr. Boardman was at the sachem's bed-side, the latter asked him to pray, to which he of course assented. It happened that there was at this time in the village a sick child, whom a powwow had undertaken to cure by means of the usual writhings, grimaces and bellowings. As soon as Mr. Boardman began his prayer, Weraumaug's wife sent for this Indian clergyman, stationed him at the door, and bade him commence his exercises. The powwow immediately set up a prodigious shouting and howling; Mr. Boardman prayed louder, so that the sick man might hear him above the din; each raised his voice more and more as he went on; the Indians gathered round, anxious for the success of their champion; the powwow was fully determined to tire out the black-coat, and Mr. Boardman was equally resolved that he would not be put to silence in his duty by this son of Belial. The indomitable minister afterwards declared, that, according to the best of his belief, he prayed three hours, without stopping, before victory declared in his favor. The powwow, completely exhausted with his efforts, gave one tremendous yell by way of covering his retreat; then took to his heels, and never stopped till he was cooling himself up to his neck in the Housatonic.

The above anecdote, with some other particulars concerning the New Milford Indians, was related to me by the grandson of Mr. Boardman, the venerable David S. Boardman of New Milford. This gentleman informed me that he supposed, from various circumstances, that the

death of Weraumaug must have happened about the year 1735. His grandfather left a minute account of his labors with the sachem; but unfortunately it has been lost, and nothing now remains of it but some facts which were copied into the sermon of Mr. Griswold.

Chere, the son of Weraumaug, was never sachem; the tribe breaking up and dispersing soon after his father's death. He was a savage, violent man, of huge stature, great strength, and had a deep, hoarse voice. Like the other Indians, Chere disliked Mr. Boardman's teachings, but held that gentleman himself in great respect, because nature had endowed him with extraordinary bodily strength. One day, Sherman Boardman, the son of the minister, observed Chere and another Indian sitting on a log, both partially intoxicated, and engaged in a violent quarrel. He came up softly behind them, and just as he reached the log saw Chere draw back his hand to stab the other, who was too drunk to observe it. Young Boardman caught the huge wrist, and held it firmly while he shook the savage with all his strength. "Ah, boys!" roared Chere with his big voice; then looking over his shoulder and seeing who it was, he said, "I give up! your father is the strongest man in the world!"

In 1736, part of the New Milford Indians migrated to Scatacook, and took up their residence on the plain on the west side of the river. Their desire of remaining here having been communicated to the Assembly, an order was passed, forbidding any white person to lay out a farm on this plain, and declaring that whoever laid out such a farm should obtain no title thereby.*

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 170.

About six years after this removal, the New Milford Indians, as well as the Scatacooks, and various other clans of New York and Connecticut in this vicinity, were very favorably influenced by the labors of the Moravian missionaries. A more full account of these labors, and of the success attending them, will be given in the history of the Scatacooks. At this time there were only thirty of the tribe remaining in New Milford. This remnant united with the Potatucks in petitioning the Assembly for a school and preaching. The Potatucks were provided for as I have already described. The Assembly recommended the others to the pastoral care of the ministers of New Milford, and voted forty pounds in old tenor bills* to enable them to attend school and preaching in that town. These advantages were made use of for a time, and some of the Indian children attended the schools both winter and summer.† When the Moravians left this part of the country, a large part of the New Milford Indians left also, and moved with their teachers to Pennsylvania. Many of them died there; others returned to Connecticut and settled at Scatacook. They still retained their land at the falls in New Milford, and used to come down from Stockbridge, every year, to fish for lampreys, which do not ascend above that point in the river. This stand they never would part with, although they had sold every other part of their ancient patrimony. By the census of 1774, it appears that there were no Indians remaining in the town; but they still held their right to this fishing place; and, even of late years, when a straggler presents

* Equal to about eleven pounds in silver.

† Indian Papers, Vol. I. Doc'ts 240, 241, 243.

himself, his claims are acknowledged, and he is allowed his turn.

The sites of Indian cemeteries are still pointed out in New Milford. One is on the west side of the river opposite the village; another on the east side at no great distance from the ancient residence of the sachem. Many of the graves have trees of considerable size growing out of them. The mounds are circular in shape, and, on opening them, the skeletons are found in a sitting posture. The grave of Weraumaug is still supposed to be known, and differs from the others only in being of larger dimensions.*

INDIANS OF SALISBURY AND SHARON.

The Indians of these two townships in the northwest corner of the State seem to have been sufficiently connected to be placed under one head. They were composed of refugees from various quarters: many from Windsor on the Connecticut; some from various other portions of the State; and some from the Mohegans on the Hudson River. As the former retreated west to avoid the advancing New Englanders, so the latter moved a little to the east to escape from the rising settlements in New York.

In Sharon the Indians lived chiefly in the northwestern parts of the town, fishing around the large ponds there, and hunting in the still undisturbed forests. Their principal village was on the plain lying between Indian Mountain, a spur of the Taghconnuc range, and Indian

* Barber, pp. 475, 476.

Pond, a body of water on the line between Connecticut and New York.* Here they continued to reside for probably ten or fifteen years after the principal English settlement was commenced [1739] in Salisbury. The first purchase of land effected by white men in these regions was probably the one made by two citizens of New York on the thirty-first of January, 1721. They were Lawrence Knickerbocker of Dutchess County, and Johannes Diksman of the manor of Livingston. The tract purchased lay west of the Housatonic and north of the great falls, and must have comprised more than half of the present township of Salisbury. The deed was given for a consideration of twenty pounds, and was subscribed by Konaguin, Sakowanahook and others, "all of the nation of the Mohokandos," that is, of the Mohicans of Hudson River.†

The number of Indians in Salisbury, in these early times, was considerable; and, even some time afterwards, it was said that their village counted seventy wigwams. They were perfectly friendly, however, to the settlers, who for many years were few and scattered.

In 1726, a number of English from Connecticut purchased of Metoxon, the sachem, the southwest corner of Sharon, and all the western part of Salisbury up to within about two miles of the Housatonic River. Again, on the sixth of November, 1738, Thomas Lamb purchased of the same chieftain all the land in Sharon, still unsold, with the exception of a strip, one mile in width, across the southern extremity of the township. For this territory he paid the sum of eighty pounds; and shortly after he

* Barber, p. 492. † Papers on Towns and Lands, Vol. VII, Doc. 245.

added to it the slip at the south end, which he succeeded in buying, for nine pounds, of an Indian named John or Naunese. Other purchases took place subsequently, and by 1740 the whites had obtained possession of all of both townships, except about two miles square in the northeast corner of Salisbury. The Indians soon, however, began to complain, asserting that some lands had been taken which they never sold, and that they were not allowed the rights, which they had reserved, of living on some of the lands which they had sold. These complaints were probably just, for some of the neighboring whites united with them in thinking that they were aggrieved; and, in addition, it was stated by a committee, appointed to examine the case by the Assembly, that the Indians had been wronged in the laying out of the lands.*

In 1742, therefore, a memorial on the subject was presented to the Assembly, subscribed by Messrs. Pratt, Skinner and Dunham of Sharon, and by Stephen Neguntemaug, Nanhoon and other Indians of the vicinity. The memorial mentioned the above grievances, and prayed that a committee might be appointed to examine into them. It stated that the number of Indians in the northwest corner of Sharon was considerable; that there were others in the vicinity, and that they were all anxious to be instructed in the Scriptures, and to have their children educated in a knowledge of the Christian religion.†

In answer to this petition, a committee was sent to Sharon, to investigate the Indian claims. The com-

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc'ts 244—246. Towns and Lands, Vol. VII, Documents 213, 214, 249.

† Towns and Lands, Vol. VII, Document 213.

mittee, on examination, found that the whole number of Indians in Sharon was only forty-five; and that they still claimed two hundred acres of land in the northwest corner of that township, besides a tract of two miles square in the northeast corner of Salisbury. The committee gave it as their opinion that all, or nearly all, of Sharon had been fairly purchased by the settlers; but they still recommended that fifty acres should be set off to the Indians, who, they thought, could not reasonably ask for any more.*

The Assembly appointed Daniel Edwards of Hartford to finish the business. He was to buy the two miles square in Salisbury, and lay out the fifty acres, for the Indians, in Sharon. He was also to agree with the Rev. Peter Pratt of Sharon to give religious instruction to the Indians for the next six months; and, for this purpose, was authorized to draw on the colonial treasury to the amount of twenty pounds.†

Edwards proceeded to Sharon, but did not execute his commission there, as the Indians still claimed two hundred acres, and told him they could not keep together with less, having cultivated eighty-nine acres that very year. They stated their willingness to listen to Mr. Pratt; continued to express a desire for the education of their children; and said that, if they were allowed to keep together, they would receive the laws of the colony thankfully and behave as good subjects. Under such circumstances it seemed very hard to force them on the meagre pittance of fifty acres; and Edwards, letting the matter pass for

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 244.
† Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 245.

the time, promised them that he would report their situation to the Assembly.*

From Sharon he went on to Salisbury, to buy the two miles square still possessed in that town by the Indians. But this part of the tribe, it seems, had already emigrated, and were now living in Stockbridge. Proceeding to Stockbridge, he published his errand among the Indians there, and inquired for the owners of the Indian lands in Weataug.† All agreed in saying that there were but three left: a man, a woman and a child. The man, Tautaupusseet, had wandered abroad and was living at a great distance. The woman was his sister, Shekannenooti, and the child was named Kowannun. Edwards drew up a deed, had it read and interpreted to Shekannenooti and Kowannun, and bought the land for sixty pounds sterling.‡

On his return he reported the case of the Sharon Indians; but no notice seems to have been taken of their wants, and for several years they had no land which they could call their own. They exhibited much discontent at this injustice, and many of the white inhabitants of Sharon became interested in their complaints. In 1747, a number of the settlers memorialized the Assembly, representing the uneasiness of the Indians, and asking that a committee might be appointed to examine into the difficulties and settle them.§ A committee was chosen, which repaired to Sharon and laid out for the Indians one hundred and seventy acres. The same land, however, had been laid out, five years before, to one Joseph Skinner,

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 246. † The Indian name of Salisbury.
‡ Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 246. § Colonial Records, Vol. VIII.

who, having thus a legal title to it, refused to give it up, or even to exchange it for another tract.* The Indians were, therefore, still without a certain home, and of course continued their complaints. They never intended to sell their land, they said, but were deceived into it by those who were more cunning than themselves. But, as the prospect of obtaining their rights seemed to become more and more hopeless, they continued to move away from Sharon; and, by 1752, only two men, Bartholomew and Neguntemaug, remained. These two were willing to sell their claims, and one Thomas Barnes of Salisbury accordingly struck a bargain with them and took a deed, dated the fourth of August, 1752. Neguntemaug and Bartholomew then moved away; and, for a time, the township was entirely forsaken by its original proprietors.†

In the fall of 1754, one of the tribe, named Timotheus, made his appearance, and began to hang around the settlement. He often came into the farmers' houses, and expressed his indignation that the land which the committee laid out to the Indians had never been put in their possession. As he sat, one day, in the kitchen of Jonathan Pettis, he talked about the wrongs of his people until he became excited and very angry. "I vow it is my land," he exclaimed, "and you know it. I swear it is my land, and I will have it."

Nightly disturbances now commenced: whoops and whistlings were heard near the houses of the settlers; and stones were thrown violently against the walls and the doors. One Thomas Jones had bought a farm and a log-

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Documents 20—24.

† Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 89.

house near the spot where the Indians formerly lived. Its previous owner was a Dutchman who had been the chief confident and adviser of the Indians. Jones obtained it in the spring preceding Timotheus's re-appearance, and, as both Dutchman and Indians had moved away, he anticipated no disturbance. Now, however, he began to hear men talking, by night, about his house; and sometimes, too, they would beat upon the outside with what seemed to be clubs and hatchets. The other settlers, finding how he was persecuted, came by turns to watch with him, and for two or three weeks a regular guard of armed men was kept up in the lonely dwelling. One Sabbath evening, as the guard, consisting of three or four men all armed with guns, were sitting together in the cabin, an Indian pushed aside the blanket which served for a door, and put his head partly in at the opening. One of the men proposed, in a low tone, to shoot; but another, named John Palmer, prevented him, hoping for a better chance in a moment. The Indian drew back, and they then watched through the cracks between the logs until they discerned him standing at a little distance. Palmer fired at him through a large crack, but missed: seizing another gun he fired again through the rude window; and this time he thought the Indian stumbled and fell. They rushed out to the spot, but found nothing. Soon after, they saw a man further on, in the clear moonlight, dressed in a white blanket, and Palmer fired again, but with the same ill success as before. Joseph Jackson ran out with the others, but was told by one of them to go back and guard the house. He went back, but soon returned, and, as he ran on, met a man carrying a gun

and dressed in loose blue clothing. He took him to be one of the company named John Gray, who wore a loose blue overcoat; but, finding that John Gray was before him, he turned back and ran after the stranger, whom he now concluded to be an Indian. He could not find him, however; and, after a while, the others returned to the house equally unsuccessful.

Thomas Jones sent an account of these disturbances to the Assembly, with the affidavits of several persons who had been witnesses. A committee was appointed, to examine into the grounds of the discontent among the Indians, and to devise some fair and equable method of putting an end to it. Affairs, however, were brought to an adjustment without any official intervention on the part of the colony. Timotheus, who was no doubt the cause of all these disturbances, offered to give a quit-claim of his rights, if Thomas Barnes, who bought the claims of Bartholomew and Neguntenaug, would pay him two pounds ten shillings of New York currency, and eight pounds of the old tenor of Connecticut.* Barnes consented; the money was paid; Timotheus declared himself satisfied; and from this time Thomas Jones and all his fellow-sufferers were allowed to sleep in peace.†

In 1774, one Indian remained in Sharon and nine in Salisbury.‡

THE NAUGATUC INDIANS.

The Naugatuc Indians, or the band to which I shall give that name, resided at the falls of the Naugatuc, about five

* Something over two pounds sterling for the Connecticut currency. As to the New York currency, I do not know its value at that time.

† Indian Papers, Vol. II, Doc'ts 82—85. ‡ Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. X, p. 118.

miles above its confluence with the Housatonic. Gideon Mauwehu, the founder of a tribe which will presently be noticed, had a son, named Jo or Joseph, who lived till he was twenty-one with one of the settlers of Derby. As he chose then to remain in this vicinity, his father gave him a tract of land near the above mentioned falls, within the limits of what is now the village of Humphreysville. Here a few followers gathered round him, and during forty or fifty years he played the part of a petty sachem. He received the nickname of Chuce, commonly spelt Chuse, from his manner of pronouncing the word *choose;* and he is still well remembered in the village by the name of Old Chuse. Chuse built his wigwam among a few oak trees near the falls; and supported himself, after the fashion of his race, by fishing, by hunting, and by the produce of a little patch of ground. When he took up his residence here, there were only two or three white families in the vicinity; but others followed, and gradually built up a village which, for many years, was known by the name of Chusetown. The sachem lived on the most amicable terms with his civilized neighbors, and I have heard him spoken of with feelings of evident kindness and sympathy by those who remembered him. Anecdotes are preserved of him, which show that he was somewhat addicted to the use of ardent spirits, and considered rum or whisky essentially superior, as a beverage, to cold water. He used to come, when he was thirsty, to a fine spring, bursting from a hollow rock at the foot of a hill; and there he would sit, down on the bank by the side of that spring, and drink the sweet water as it gushed from the rock, and praise it; and say that, if there was only

another spring, just such a spring, of rum, flowing by the side of it, he would ask for nothing more, but should be perfectly happy. Chuse was a large, athletic man, and a skillful hunter: in his shooting excursions he used to kill deer, wild turkeys, and occasionally a bear.

In 1760, he sold an acre and a half of land, on the east side of the falls, to Thomas Perkins of Enfield, and Ebenezer Keney, Joseph Hull and John Wooster of Derby, who had formed a company for the purpose of putting up some iron works. After living at Humphreysville forty-eight years, Chuse moved to Scatacook, where, a few years after, he died at the age of eighty. His land was not disposed of till 1792, when it still amounted to thirty-three acres. At the petition of his heirs it was then sold for their benefit. It lay in the bend of the Naugatuc, between Bladen's brook on the north, and the bridge over the river on the south.*

THE SCATACOOKS.

One of the largest, if not the very largest, of the tribes formed by the bands of wanderers who retreated before the advancing colonists was the tribe of Scatacooks in Kent. The founder of this community was a Pequot, called Gideon Mauwehu, who possessed something of the energy and commanding character for which his nation was once distinguished. He is first known as having been the leader of a small band which lived about the lower portions of the Housatonic. He is said to have resided, at one time, in or near Derby; and it is certain that

* Barber, pp. 199, 200. Colonial and State Records.

he possessed sufficient power in that region to settle one of his sons on a small territory at Humphreysville. He is next heard of at Newtown, afterwards at New Milford; and in 1729, he seems to have been one of thirteen Indians who claimed to be "the owners of all unsold lands in New Fairfield." At all events, a deed of that year exists among the papers at Hartford, disposing of the above lands for sixty-five pounds, and signed by Cockenon, *Mauwehu* and eleven others. The tract thus sold was doubtless that now comprehended in the township of Sherman, which lies directly west of New Milford, and about four miles west of the ancient residence of the New Milford Indians.

Mauwehu afterwards moved to Dover, a town which is some ten miles west of Scatacook, and is situated on Ten Mile River in the State of New York. Here he had lived but a little while, when, in one of his hunting excursions, he came to the summit of a mountain in Kent which rises to the west of the Housatonic. Looking down from this eminence, he beheld that gentle river, winding through a narrow but fertile and beautiful valley, shut in by mountains thickly covered with trees. The whole country was uninhabited; the white man had not yet penetrated into these quiet recesses; the streams were still stocked with fish, and the wooded hills plentifully supplied with game. The gazing Indian was delighted with the scene, and instantly perceived the capabilities of the region for supporting a considerable population of his countrymen. He returned to his wigwam, packed up his property, and journeyed with his family and followers to this new-found land of quiet and plenty. From

here he issued invitations to his old friends at Potatuck and New Milford, to the Mohegans of the Hudson River, and to other tribes of the surrounding country. Immigrants flocked in from all quarters; large numbers especially came from the clans south of him on the Housatonic; and, in ten years from the time of the settlement, it was thought that a hundred warriors had collected under the sachemship of Mauwehu. A considerable accession was received from the New Milford tribe, in 1736, a short time after the death of their sachem, Weraumaug. The Indians called their settlement Scatacook, and it is by this name that the tribe thus formed always continued to be distinguished.

The Scatacooks had not enjoyed their happy valley many years before they were disturbed by the arrival of the whites. The settlement of Kent, commenced in 1738, was prosecuted rapidly; but no difficulties seem to have occurred between the settlers and the Indians, and nothing worthy of notice took place until 1742.*

In that year, the Moravian missionaries began to preach to the Scatacooks, and soon effected a remarkable change in the character of the tribe. As this mission had so much to do with the Indians of Connecticut, it will be well to give a short sketch of its history. In 1739 or 1740, a Moravian, named Christian Henry Rauch, arrived at New York, with the design of commencing a mission among the Indians of this part of America. Shortly after his landing, he fell in with two New York Mohegans, and accompanied them to Shekomeko, an Indian village between Connecticut and the Hudson. His labors at

* The preceding account is chiefly from Barber, pp. 471, 472.

first met with much opposition from the natives and the neighboring whites; but success finally rewarded his perseverance, and, in 1742, he had the happiness of baptizing several converts, among whom were the two Indians who brought him to Shekomeko. A few of the brethren joined him, and, living and dressing in the Indian style, supported themselves by their own labor. The religious interest extended into the neighboring villages of Connecticut and New York, affecting, not only the natives, but the white population. Many of the New Milford Indians were converted, and a missionary named Bruce was established in Sharon, who remained there until his death. Among the Scatacooks the efforts of the Moravians were eminently successful. Mauwehu and from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty of his people were baptized. A church was built, and a flourishing congregation collected. An almost total reformation seemed to be effected in the character of the Indians. Nearly their whole conversation when among the English was on religion; and they spent a great part of their time in the public or private duties of devotion. This wide spread religious interest excited feelings of deep hostility among the rumsellers and dissolute characters of the surrounding district. They saw their gains at once cut off, and the Indians, who had formerly been their best customers, now become temperate and saving. Reports were spread, that the missionaries were providing the Indians with arms, and endeavoring to draw them into a league with the French. In New York they were called on to serve in the militia, and harassed and persecuted to force a compliance with the call. An act of

Legislature was procured in the same colony, commanding the missionaries to take the oath of allegiance, and forbidding them to teach the Indians unless they obeyed. It was contrary to the religious prejudices of the Moravians either to take oaths or to act any part in military affairs. Rather than violate their consciences, they resolved to leave their present settlements, and retire to some spot where they could preach the gospel in peace. Inviting their flock to follow them, they removed to Pennsylvania, where they commenced a village which they called Bethlehem. The New York people now seized the lands of the Indians, and set a guard to prevent the latter from being visited by the brethren. A large number of the Mohegans* followed their teachers to Bethlehem; many, also, of the New Milford Indians, and some of the Scatacooks. But this change of climate proved fatal to numbers of the emigrants, especially among the old people. The Connecticut Indians, discouraged by sickness and hardship, returned to their ancient country, and settled at Scatacook. Here, deprived of their teachers, they seemed to forget their religion, sank into intemperance, and began to waste away. In this mournful manner ended the most promising, and, for a time, the most successful religious effort that was ever commenced among the aborigines of Connecticut.†

During the war of 1744 with France, Governor Clinton of New York, and a body of commissioners from Massachusetts and Connecticut, had an audience with the Scatacooks and River Indians,‡ and made them an address

* Not the Mohegans of Connecticut, but those of the Hudson.

† Tracy's History of American Missions, pp. 18, 19. Trumbull, Vol. II, p. 84.

‡ Probably the Stockbridges of Massachusetts.

calculated to either keep them at peace or engage them on the English side. They began, as is usual on such occasions, by styling the Indians neighbors and friends; expressing the pleasure which the governor and commissioners felt in seeing them, and declaring that they should henceforth look upon them as their very near relations. After these compliments, they said that they had spoken with the Six Nations, and now came to speak with them: that it was a very proper time to brighten the chain of peace; for the French, without any cause, had just begun a war on the English: that the latter might therefore want the assistance of their good friends and brothers, the Scatacooks and River Indians: and that, when a convenient time arrived, they would make them such a present as would be suitable to the circumstances. Such was the substance of a speech delivered by one of the commissioners. On the next day the Indians made the following reply:

"Fathers of the Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut. We are glad to see you here, and we bid you welcome. We are inclined to live in peace and love with these three governments and all the rest of his Majesty's subjects.

Fathers: we are very glad that we are all united in one covenant chain; we are resolved that it shall not rust, and will therefore wind it with beaver skins.

Fathers: we are ready to promote good things; and what our uncles, the Six Nations, have promised we will readily concur in on our part.

Fathers: you are the greatest, and you desire us to stay at home, which we promise to do, and we hope that no harm will come to us.

Fathers: we are united with the Six Nations in one common covenant, and this is the belt which is the token of that covenant.

Fathers of Boston and Connecticut: whatever you desired of us yesterday we engaged to perform; and we are very willing to keep and cultivate a close friendship with you; and we will take care to keep the covenant chain bright.

Fathers: you are a great people and we are a small one; we will do what you desire, and we hope you will take care that no harm come to us."

The Indians then presented a belt of wampum and three martin skins.*

From this speech it seems pretty evident, that the Indians were considerably more anxious to be protected themselves than to risk their lives in injuring others. The warlike spirit had greatly decayed among them; and what was it to them whether the English beat the French, or the French beat the English?

The township of Kent was sold to the original settlers by the colony; and no records or papers remain to show whether the land was usurped from the Indians, or was obtained from them by purchase. Reservations, however, were made to them: one on the west bank of the Housatonic River; and one, of two thousand acres, in the mountains: and, since there were reservations, we may conclude that there must have been, in the first place, sales. One of the only two land transactions, between the natives and the colony, to be found in the Kent records, is a deed dated December 19th, 1746. For the

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 262.

sum of two hundred pounds, it leases to Benjamin Hollister, Robert Watson and Henry Stephens, a large tract, extending from the Housatonic to the western bounds of the colony, for a term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years. This form of passing over the property is an evident attempt to evade those colonial laws which prohibited the purchasing of Indian lands by individuals. The record is subscribed by the marks of "Capten Mayhew, Leftenant Samuel Coksuer, Jobe Mayhew, John Anteney, Thomas Cuksuer and John Sokenoge."*

From the above spelling of the sachem's name, we may infer the English origin of the word Mauwehu. Gideon was very likely one of those "Indian youths" who had been brought up, more or less, in the families of "godly English," or other English, and had been baptized, or otherwise furnished, with an English name. When Gideon Mayhew became a chief, he was, very naturally in that military age of New England, dubbed Capten; and his surname was easily transformed into Mauwehu by his own foreign pronunciation, or by the outlandish spelling of the scribes of those early days.

The other Indian deed in the Kent records is a sale by Chere son of Weraumaug, of four hundred acres in Weraumaug's Reserve, that is in New Preston in Washington. The price is not mentioned: Chere only declares that he has received a valuable consideration.†

After the Connecticut people commenced their settlements in Kent, the Indians took up their residence chiefly on the west bank of the Housatonic. The settlers gradually encroached on them, by purchase and perhaps other-

* Kent Records, Vol. I, p. 381. † Kent Records, Vol. I, p. 464.

wise, until, about the year 1752, the Indians found themselves deprived of nearly all their lands on the plain. Mauwehu and fourteen others now subscribed a petition to the Assembly, saying that the tribe consisted of eighteen families; that they had been deprived of all their planting grounds except a small quantity which was insufficient for them; and praying that they might have a tract of unoccupied land which lay below them along the Housatonic.

The Assembly granted them about two hundred acres in the place designated, allowing them to cultivate it at pleasure, and to cut what timber they needed for their own use, from the greatest part of it. The tract was not, however, given in fee simple, but was to be held by the Indians at the pleasure of the colony.*

Other difficulties followed, similar in their nature to those which took place between other tribes and the surrounding whites. The Indians complained of encroachments and trespasses, sometimes with, and sometimes apparently without, cause. State committees reported, and town committees reported, without producing much more effect than the reports of a similar number of pop-guns. At this distance of time it is not easy to understand the precise grounds of these petty differences, nor to discover which party was in the wrong.

In 1757, Jabez Smith was chosen overseer of the tribe: being the first officer of the kind appointed for the Scatacooks.

Ten years after this event, Mauwehu and many other of the older persons in the community being dead, the

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 76.

remainder became anxious to remove to Stockbridge. The Stockbridge Indians had invited them to come, and they therefore petitioned the Assembly, that the tract of one hundred and fifty or two hundred acres which had been granted them in 1752 might be sold for their benefit. As this land, however, did not belong to the Indians, but to the colony, the Assembly negatived the request.

In October, 1771, the following singular petition, evidently the composition and penmanship of the Indians themselves, was presented to the Legislature.

"We are poore Intins at Scutcuk in the town of Kent we desire to the most honorable Sembly at New Haven we are very much a pressed by the Nepawaug people praking our fences and our gates and turning their cattle in our gardens and destroying our fruits, the loss of our good friend 4 years ago which we desire for a nother overseer in his sted to take Care of us and see that we are not ronged by the people we make Choice of Elisha Swift of kent to be our trustee if it [be] pleseing to your minds."*

The petition was signed by David Sherman, Job Sucknuck and eight others. Elisha Swift was appointed overseer, in accordance with its request. He was shortly succeeded by Reuben Swift, and he, in turn, by Abraham Fuller, who held the office for several years. The Indians, during all this time, were in extremely poverty-stricken circumstances; several of them, too, were sick, and were unable to pay the expenses they thus incurred. David Sherman, a signer, and perhaps the composer, of the above petition, broke his brother's head so badly in a

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 201.

quarrel as to render a trepan necessary. By 1774, so many Scatacooks had died or removed, that the number remaining in Kent was only sixty-two. Of the other bands of Litchfield County, there were seven individuals in Cornwall, eight in Litchfield, and nine in Woodbury.*

In 1775, the Assembly ordered that the lands of the Scatacooks should be leased to pay their debts and defray their expenses. It was also ordered, with regard to David Sherman, that he should be bound out to service, to defray the expenses arising from his brother's broken head. Thomas Warrups, probably a son of the old sagamore of Reading, was allowed to sell thirty acres of land to pay his debts and provide for his family. Three years after, another tract, of ten acres, was sold for the purpose of relieving the indigent circumstances of the Warrups family. The old squaw of Chickens was still living; she was blind, however, and had lately been sick.†

Not far from this time, Joseph Mauwehu, the sachem of Humphreysville, came to Scatacook, and took up his residence in his father's tribe. His name appears in a petition, dated April 13th, 1786, which bears marks of having been written by some of the Scatacooks. It complains concerning their darkness, their ignorance, and their consequent inability to take care of themselves; and prays that some means may be used to give them knowledge and education. Most of their reserved lands, the petition goes on to say, have been taken from them; they have lost their hunting grounds in the mountains, and the New Milford people have deprived them of their ancient right

* Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol X, p. 118.

† Indian Papers, Vol. II. Colonial Records, Vol. XII.

of fishing at the falls of the Housatonic. Some of their number have suffered extremely from poverty, and the rest are themselves so poor as to be unable to help them. As for the rents of their lands, they do not know what becomes of them; and they ask the privilege of choo ing a guardian once a year, and exacting from him an annual settlement. The petition states the number of males in the tribe at thirty-six; the number of females at thirty-five: twenty of the whole being children of a suitable age for attending school.*

A committee was appointed, and examined into the grounds of complaint mentioned in this memorial. They reported that the New Milford people had satisfied the Indians as to their fishing rights; and that, so far from the Scatacooks being entitled to complain of their guardian, they were actually indebted to him to the amount of sixteen pounds, six shillings and sixpence. The committee further stated, that the lands were rented for only one year, and thus the tenants were induced to exhaust them without any regard to their future fertility. They recommended that fifty acres should be allotted to each Indian family, and that the rest should be leased to white farmers in terms of fifty years. As for a school, they reported that the children were so few in number, and "kept in such a wild savage way," that the thing would be useless. The report was approved by the Assembly; and we may suppose, therefore, that the measures which it recommended were carried into execution.†

In 1801, the Scatacooks were reduced to thirty-five idle, intemperate beings, who cultivated only six acres of

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Doc. 219. † Colonial Records, Vol. XII.

ground. Their lands still amounted to twelve or fifteen hundred acres extending from the Housatonic to the New York line. The greatest portion of this tract consisted of their ancient hunting grounds, was situated among the mountains, and was rough and unsuitable for tillage. In consequence of sickness among the Indians, their overseer, Abraham Fuller, had contracted debts on their account to the amount of over four hundred dollars. He petitioned that part of the reservation might be sold, to pay him for these expenses. The Assembly voted that the northern portion of it should be sold, the above debts liquidated out of the proceeds, and two hundred dollars of the remainder applied to building six wigwams for the Indians. The lands were accordingly disposed of for the sum of thirteen hundred pounds; and the overplus, after paying debts and deducting expenses, was put out at six per cent. interest on mortgage securities.*

An honorable exception to the prevailing intemperance and idleness of the Scatacooks seems to have existed in Benjamin Chickens, a descendant of the old sachem, Chickens. Seven or eight years before the sale, he went on to the north-western part of the land, built him a small but convenient house there, and fenced and cultivated several acres in such a manner as to make it good meadow and pasture land. In consequence of these improvements the whole tract sold for more than it could otherwise have brought. Benjamin very reasonably requested that he might be rewarded for his labor; and the Assembly, as a remuneration, voted him one hundred dollars. At first he purchased nineteen acres in Kent, but, six or seven

* State Records, Vols. VI, VII.

years after, he sold his little farm and moved into the State of New York.*

Other portions of the Scatacook lands were disposed of at various dates; and these sales, together with the appointments of overseers, constitute the annals of the tribe in later times. In 1836, Eunice Mauwehu, a grand-daughter of the old sachem, and a daughter of Chuse or Joseph, was still living at Scatacook, aged seventy-two years.†

The Scatacooks have yet a considerable tract of land on the mountain; too rough and woody indeed to be cultivated, but well adapted for supplying them with firewood. At the foot of the mountain, also, and between that and the Housatonic, they possess a narrow strip of plain, sufficient in size for gardens, watered by springs from the upper ground, and containing a few comfortable houses. The number of Indians remaining in the fall of 1849 was eight or ten of the full blood, and twenty or thirty half-breeds. A few are sober and industrious, live comfortably and have good gardens; but the great majority are lazy, immoral and intemperate. Many of them lead a vagabond life, wandering about the State in summer, and returning to Scatacook to spend the winter. Three or four are in the habit of attending preaching, and a few of the children go to school. Their funded property now amounts to about five thousand dollars, and, for the last forty years, has more than paid the annual expenses of the tribe.‡

* State Records, Vols. VIII, IX. † Barber, p. 471.

‡ For this information concerning the present condition of the Scatacooks I am indebted to the politeness of their overseer, Mr. Abel Beach, of Kent.

CHAPTER XI.

HISTORY OF THE PEQUOTS FROM 1683 TO 1849.

We now resume the history of the Pequots: the saddest page, from beginning to end, that is to be found in the story of the aborigines of Connecticut. From the time when Endicott, with little or no provocation, staved their canoes and destroyed their wigwams; from the time when Mason burnt their village and its population of four hundred human beings with fire; from the time that the miserable remnant was loaded with a heavy tax and deprived of its national existence; from these events down to the present day, the Pequots have received little from us except injustice and the most pitiless neglect.

Their gradual diminution in the period included by the present chapter was produced by the same causes which produced the disappearance of their brethren in the western part of the State. They were living, a barbarous race, in the midst of a civilized community. Consequently, when they were attacked by the diseases and vices of civilization, they had nothing to oppose to them but their ancient ignorance and simplicity. They were as lazy as ever, and they were besides drunken: they were as improvident as ever, and the game and fish which once supplied them had nearly disappeared. For *them*

medical science did nothing: the couches of *their* sick were tended only by ignorance and indifference: intemperance and vice sapped their strength socially and individually: the annual deaths were more, on an average, than the annual births: some wandered to other parts of the country and joined other bands of unfortunates, and thus slowly and painfully have they faded away.

We left the Pequots, at the decease of Uncas, divided into two bands, one in Stonington under Momoho, the other in Groton under old Cassasinamon. The latter was not only the largest, but possessed a disproportionately large share of land, having two thousand acres to live on, while the other had only two hundred and eighty. Cassasinamon died in 1692, and his assistant, Daniel, was chosen by the Assembly to succeed him. At the same time, Cushamequin, son of Momoho, was empowered to become his father's successor over the Stonington Pequots, if he showed himself capable of the station. To conciliate Joseph the son of Catapazet and grandson of Hermon Garret, who might, on grounds of descent, have laid claim to the gubernatorial dignity, he was acknowledged as the rightful possessor of all his father's property. Some of Momoho's Pequots cultivated little tracts in Groton, although they were not proprietors there, and were acting only as squatters. The Assembly gave them permission to continue this culture; but ordered them to make their residence in Stonington, so that they could be under the eye of their governor. Daniel died in 1694, upon which Scattup, or Scadoab, was appointed to succeed him as ruler over the Groton Pequots.*

* Indian Papers, Vol. I. Colonial Records, Vol. III.

Three or four years subsequently some quarrels took place between the Indians and their governors. Whether the former were imbibing too democratic notions, or the latter were growing too regal or despotic in their administration, it is now difficult to say. Some of the old men who felt themselves aggrieved by the conduct of the governors sent a memorial concerning it to the Assembly; and, finding that no notice was taken of this, they sent another. To keep these petty rulers in check, therefore, it was enacted that, for the future, they should be under the immediate direction of the governor of Connecticut, who might displace them and appoint others at his discretion. The governor, however, never exercised this prerogative, and the civil affairs of the little communities were suffered to take pretty nearly their own course. Robin Cassasinamon, son of the former chief, soon became a rival of Scadoab; and, for several years, each had his followers, who allowed their different leaders the title and something of the authority of sachem.*

In 1712, the townsmen of Groton, regarding the lands of Nawayonk, or Nawyonk, as no longer belonging to the Indians, passed a vote allotting them to some of their own citizens. In consequence a petition soon appeared before the Assembly, signed by young Robin Cassasinamon and others, setting forth the rights of the Pequots to Nawyonk, and complaining of the injustice of the Groton people in taking possession of it. The commissioners of the missionary society in England interested themselves in the affair. By Samuel Sewall, their agent in Boston, they sent an address to the government of Connecticut,

* Colonial Records, Vol. III.

requesting it to notice the complaints of the Pequots, and not suffer wrong to be done to a people, who, for more than seventy years, had been submissive to the English and dependent upon their protection. They had lately directed, they said, Mr. Experience Mayhew to visit the Pequots and Mohegans, and offer them the gospel; but they feared that the scandal of thrusting them out of their worldly possessions would embitter their spirits and make them averse to receiving the heavenly tidings. Samuel Sewall also wrote, on the subject, one letter to Governor Saltonstall, and another to Jonathan Law. In each he expressed his opinion, that depriving the Pequots of Nawyonk was contrary to former enactments of both the General Court of Connecticut and the Commissioners' Court of New England; and, in his letter to Law, he closed with the hope, that the Assembly would not only preserve what land was remaining to the tribe, but would, if necessary, make additions to it. "For I hope," he concluded, "though the natives are at present so thinned as to become like two or three berries in the top of the uppermost bough, yet God will hasten their reformation and increase."*

The Assembly issued an order commanding the town of Groton to return the land, or make suitable payment for it, or appear before the next session of that body to answer against the complaint of the Pequots. In October, 1714, a committee was appointed to examine into the claims of the Indians; and, in the mean time, all persons were forbidden to disturb them in fishing, hunting or planting, on the disputed lands. On investigation, the

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 80. Ecclesiastical Papers, Vol. I.

committee very justly came to the conclusion, that Nawyonk no longer belonged to the Pequots. They had left it because it was worn out; they had not lived on it for forty years; they had been provided with another tract four times as large; and it seemed unfair, that industrious farmers should be kept out of a large body of lands merely to accommodate a few idle Indians in hunting and fishing. The Assembly concurred in the report, and declared the lands at Mushantuxet sufficient for the Pequots; but granted them the privilege of hunting and fishing at Nawyonk as they had done before.*

This difficulty was followed, a few years subsequently, by another. In 1653, John Winthrop of New London had received from the colony a grant of a considerable tract, which he never made use of, and which seems to have been covered afterwards by the Pequot reservation at Mushantuxet. The claim was now revived by one of his descendants, and on the ground of it he pretended a right to five hundred acres of the Pequot land. The Indians were alarmed, and offered the tract to the town of Groton, probably on condition of receiving something in return. The town accepted the offer, granted the Indians six hundred acres in another place, and took upon itself the task of opposing Winthrop's claim.†

Still, the land of the tribe was evidently decreasing, in one way or another, and Cassasinamon and his party became dissatisfied. James Avery, their overseer, regarded them as suffering injustice, and probably encouraged and assisted them in carrying their complaints before the Assembly. In 1721 a memorial was presented, complaining

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 83. † Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 96.

that encroachments were made upon their territory; that the orchards which their fathers had planted were taken away; and praying the Assembly to grant them justice for the past and protection for the future. In time of war, they said, the English treated them as rational creatures and called them brethren; but now they drove them, like goats, upon rough ground, to break and fertilize it for themselves.*

The report of a committee on this petition stated that the Indians had seventeen hundred acres of land, which was secured to them by the town of Groton; that almost all of them were satisfied, and that Cassasinamon complained, only because some person continually incited him to do so. This person was doubtless James Avery, the overseer, who at this very time addressed a letter to the Assembly, accusing the committee of not having done their duty. They had not called on him, he stated, nor had they seen Cassasinamon; and he could himself testify that the Pequots were driven out of their fields and orchards: for he had visited Mashantuxet, and seen with his own eyes a considerable portion of the Indian land inclosed by the English fences. In a subsequent communication he mentioned twenty-eight lots, averaging twenty acres each, which had been laid out in the reservation by whites.

But the followers of Scadoab, who comprised the majority of the Pequots, were opposed to making any complaint, and expressed themselves satisfied with the lands now confirmed to them. To the memorials of Avery and Cassasinamon they opposed others declaring their perfect

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 95.

content and satisfaction. They were doubtless incited to this course by some of the Groton people; and they went so far as to petition that Avery might be removed from the overseership, as a troublesome man, and one James Morgan appointed in his place. One of these petitions has, appended to it, the marks of sixty Pequots; and, if all who signed it knew its tenor, shows that Scadoab must have been followed by nearly the whole tribe.

Committees, however, were appointed to examine the alleged grievances, and resolutions were passed enacting that prosecutions should be commenced against the intruders. But all this was rendered nugatory by the result of an examination which was made in 1728, and which received the concurrence of the Assembly. Only one encroachment was found, and one mistake made by the county surveyor. The actual amount of the Indian land at Mashantuxet was declared to be seventeen hundred and thirty-seven acres.*

In 1731, the tribe, according to one account, numbered one hundred and sixty-four persons, of whom the males over sixteen years of age amounted to sixty-six or sixty-seven.† Another statement makes the number of such males who lived on the lands, sixty-two; of those who lived in English families, nineteen; and of the wigwams on the reservation, thirteen. Two hundred acres of land were cleared, two hundred more partially cleared; but only fourteen were planted, although the Indians had besides a considerable number of apple trees. The reservation still amounted to seventeen hundred and thirty-

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Documents 100, 101, 104, 106, 107, 135.

† A letter of Avery, the overseer, in Indian Papers, Vol. I, Doc. 142.

seven acres; but it was rocky, hilly, and, for the most part, fit only for pasturage. The herbage was claimed by the neighboring whites, on the ground that the Indians made no use of it, and that the land was not theirs in fee simple, but only held as a life-grant from the colony.*

Captain James Avery being dead, his son James was, in 1731, appointed to succeed him as overseer, in conjunction with John Morgan. Some of the settlers bought, privately, from individual Pequots, some tracts on the Indian land, and then proceeded to inclose their purchases and exclude the tribe. Others not only allowed their horses and cattle to range over the entire reservation, thus injuring the little patches of corn planted by the Indians, but took the liberty to fell wood and carry it away for their own use. To prevent these irregularities, the Assembly enacted that Avery and Morgan should be empowered to prosecute all trespassers and encroachers, and should, from time to time, report the situation of the Pequots. The town clerk of Groton was also forbidden, under a penalty of ten pounds, to make record of any transaction by which the possession of the Indian land was transferred from the Indians themselves to any other person.† An act was likewise passed, in 1732, dividing the western half of the reservation into fifty acre lots, and leasing them, for the benefit of the Indians, to English farmers.‡ Considering the indolence of the Pequots, this

* Report of a committee and testimony of two Groton people in Indian Papers, Vol. I, Documents 143, 147.

† Colonial Records, Vol. VI.

‡ Colonial Records, Vol. VI, VIII. Indian Papers, Vol. II.

looked like a wise and profitable disposal of the lands; but, owing to the eventual dishonesty of the tenants, it led to many difficulties, and resulted in much injustice.

In 1735, over thirty of the Pequots sent in a complaint, that trespasses on them were still continued, their corn being destroyed and their trees cut down. They kept swine and a few cattle, they said; but could not maintain them as long as the English monopolized all the herbage of their lands. Avery sent word that no material injury had been done to the Indians, and that his brother overseer, John Morgan, was the sole cause of these complaints. Twenty-eight Pequots replied by petitioning that Avery might be removed and Joseph Rose of Preston appointed in his place. They asserted that Avery, or, at least, his sons, were personally interested in their lands; and thus had a selfish inducement to smother their complaints, and stand idly by while they were wronged. But it was indeed true that much of their property had been lotted out to farmers, who, having inclosed it, would not allow them to plant within the inclosures. It was true, too, that they had been deprived of the fruits of their orchards, and that English houses had been built on their reservation.*

Such were the complaints of the Pequots; but what foundation they really had for considering themselves aggrieved it is difficult to ascertain. The reports of the two overseers continually contradicted each other, and the Indians knew little what really belonged to them and what did not. The Assembly settled the quarrels of the overseers by dismissing them both: it then appointed in

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Documents 227, 228, 234.

their places two citizens of New London, John Richards and Daniel Coit.*

The year 1740 was rendered worthy of note to the Mushantuxet Pequots by the death of Scadaub, the last of the band who held the office of governor, or maintained any thing like the dignity of sachem.†

In 1742, there was a school teacher among the Groton Pequots, and probably, also, although not certainly, among those of Stonington.‡ More than six hundred pounds had lately [1636] been contributed by the people of Connecticut for the spiritual and intellectual benefit of the Indians in the colony: a sum by no means remarkable indeed compared with the benevolent collections of the present day, but still enough to do some good among the natives had it been wisely expended. How it was expended, or who had the care of expending it, would, as I have observed in another place, be now extremely difficult, or, more probably, altogether impossible, to determine.

Some good results were, about this time, effected among the Pequots in another way. In 1733, the society formed in Great Britain for propagating the gospel in New England established a missionary, named Parks, among the Narragansetts of Westerly and Charleston in Rhode Island. During the great revival of 1743, a number of converts were made among the Stonington Pequots, and several of them paid a visit to the Narragansetts under the care of Mr. Parks Then the religious interest among the latter, which before had been slight, became deep and general. The descendants of warriors who had fought

* Indian Papers, Vol. I, Document 235. † President Stiles's Itinerary.
‡ Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 239.

furiously among those hills, who had aimed their arrows at each other's hearts in those very forests, and who had gazed with savage delight and triumph on the nightly flames of each other's villages, knelt together around one throne of grace, mingled their tears in one stream, and breathed their desires in one prayer. In little more than twelve months sixty were received into the church; and, a few years later, the number of pious persons among the Pequots was believed to be about twenty, those among the Narragansetts nearly seventy.*

Two years previous to this, the Groton Pequots had also become in some measure interested in religion. Until then they were all heathen, licentious and intemperate; but at this period many of them began to be in much concern about their souls. At one time about fifty of them had become reformed, sedate, and were constant in their attendance upon public worship. About thirty were much inclined to learn to read; they had, as I have already mentioned, a schoolmaster among them; and they sent a petition, with forty-one marks, to the Assembly, praying that he might be supported.† I find no record of any special grant in reply to this request: I know not, indeed, how long these promising appearances continued; but it is certain that they disappeared in the end, and that, at the present day, the Pequots are very much as if the gospel had never been preached.

The Stonington Pequots have hitherto attracted little of our attention. They were a smaller band at first than those of Groton: some of them, also, were Nehantics, and

* Tracy's History of American Missions, p. 17.

† Indian Papers, Vol. I, Documents 238, 239.

had long ago separated from the others; and those who remained amounted, in 1749, to only thirty-eight persons, mostly females. During this time they had been suffering encroachments on their little reservation; and were now, in 1749, on the point of losing it altogether. It had been bought for them of Isaac Wheeler of Stonington, with the promise that Wheeler was to have the whole of the pasturage, and the Indians were to be at the risk of protecting their own crops from the incursions of his cattle. Subsequently two men, named Samuel Minor and James Grant, purchased several ancient grants which covered the reservation. In 1722, James Minor, on behalf of Samuel, obtained liberty from the Assembly to survey and mark out a suitable tract for the Indians. This was, in some sort, an acknowledgment of the justice of his claim to their land; yet it does not appear that he carried it out by transplanting the Pequots to any other locality. Minor's claim was subsequently bought by William, the son of Isaac Wheeler, who seems to have thought that thus he had increased the extent of the right which he derived from his father to the Indian land. He inclosed the whole tract, and, at his death, left it by will to two sons-in-law. They, or, at least, one of them, claimed the land in fee simple; part of it was sold, and the Indians were no longer allowed to keep stock, although they still had liberty to plant their little patches of corn and vegetables. The clan was at this time under the sunk-squaw, as she was called, Mary Momoho. She was the widow of a Momoho who had lately died, and who must have been a son of the governor of that name appointed in 1692. Mary Momoho, with Simon Sokient,

and others of her people, induced some neighbor to draw up a memorial representing their grievances and asking for redress. This petition received the marks of the Indians, and was presented to the Assembly at the May session of 1749. A committee appointed on the subject reported that, in their opinion, the Indians were wronged, and that, in reality, they had a right not only to plant on the land, but to keep and feed cattle on it. The two heirs of Wheeler were required to give up their claim, but refused, preferring to stand the chances of a trial. The case was decided against them, and they were obliged to pay the costs of the suit and give the Indians a quit-claim of the land. The Assembly, however, granted them, as a compensation for their loss, two hundred and eighty acres in another place out of the public lands of the colony.*

Still greater troubles now commenced among the Groton Pequots, arising out of the act passed in 1732 which leased the western half of their reservation to English farmers. Some of the tenants began to act on the thievish principle, that, by hiring and cultivating the lands for so long a time, they had acquired a right to them in fee simple. In January, 1747, the Indians sent up a memorial, appealing for the protection of the Assembly against such pretensions. A committee was chosen to examine into the complaint, but nothing was done to satisfy the Indians, and in 1750 one of their number, Joseph Wyokes, complained again. The leases, he said, were to continue no longer than the Assembly chose, and the Indians now asked them to be

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Documents 40—42.

withdrawn, because they were greatly disturbed and restricted by the claims and fencings of the tenants. Another examination was made, and the examining committee reported that the tenants had wronged the Indians, had cut down and destroyed their wood, had obstructed their labor, and had thus greatly discouraged them in their attempts to improve their own condition. The Assembly concurred in the report, [October, 1752,] declared the law of 1732 repealed, and empowered the overseers to prosecute for the recovery of the Indian lands.*

John Richards and Daniel Coit, both of New London, were at this time guardians to the Pequots; but neither of them was faithful to his trust. Owing, as they said, to the pressure of their own affairs, the task of righting the the Indians was suffered to lie along year after year; and, of necessity, became continually more difficult. Nothing of consequence was done until 1758, when the overseers commenced a suit, in the Superior Court of New London County, against one Williams who held in his possession eighty-three acres and ninety rods of the reservation. Williams proved that he had obtained the land, by fair purchase, of its former holder, John Wood of Groton; but it was proved, on the other side, that John Wood had no legal claim to the land, and only held it through having entered on it at his own risk. As the plaintiffs were understood to allege their right to the land in fee simple, and as they could not make proof to all the particulars of a right in fee simple, the fact being indisputable that the whole reservation belonged to the colony, the court finally decided in favor of the defendant.†

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Documents 12, 13; 51—58.
† Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 114.

A memorial, with the marks of thirty-one Pequots appended to it, was now forwarded to the Assembly, petitioning that a new trial might be allowed, and that the grounds on which the first decision was given might be excluded. The petition was granted; the case was tried again; and William Williams was defeated, and found himself deprived of nearly all his property. It was indeed a hard case, since he was suffering, not so much through dishonesty as through heedlessness, and the dishonesty of another; as well, indeed, as through that laxity of public sentiment which would allow men to appropriate the property of a feeble and poverty-stricken race, whose ignorance of English customs incapacitated them, in a great measure, from perceiving and maintaining their rights. Williams petitioned for a third trial, but the case was soon decided in another way. The decision against him had alarmed all those who held possession of Pequot land, and they united in a memorial [May, 1760,] to the Assembly, asking that a committee might be appointed to settle the disputes between themselves and the Pequots by dividing the contested lands between the two parties. "They had laid out considerable sums," they said, "in improving the portion they held. They had never intended to injure the Pequots. It was doubtful, too, whether the latter held the property in fee simple or only had a right to cultivate it. The case had been repeatedly tried, and the courts had decided different ways."

In short, these men put the best face they could on a mean and dishonest action. They had hired the land of its present owners, the Pequots, with the understanding that they were to pay a prescribed rent for the use of it.

They had had the use and had paid the rent; and with this the bargain was fulfilled, and the transaction should honestly have closed. They had no right, either legal or moral, to call one foot of the land their own, nor to prolong their stay upon it a single week after the lease had expired and the owners had given them notice to quit. The case was exactly the same as if a citizen of Hartford or New Haven should petition the Legislature to put him in possession of the house he rented, simply because he had lived in it several years, paid the rent regularly and kept the building in good repair.

The Assembly seems to have regarded itself as left, by the circumstances of the case, at considerable liberty in making a decision. The land on which the Pequots lived had not been given them as their own, but only to be used for their support. The question was, whether this gift or any portion of it could be revoked. Honor and justice answered, *no.* Expediency said, *yes;* and expediency carried the day. The land was divided: nine hundred and eighty-nine acres and sixty-eight rods were confirmed to the Indians: the remainder, about six hundred and fifty-six acres and one hundred rods, was granted to the tenants.*

While the affair was still undecided the Pequots took some offense at John Richards, one of their overseers. Fourteen of them, headed by Charles Scodobe, sent a

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 123. Colonial Records, Vol. IX. This took place at the sessions of May, 1761. The above amount of land is about ninety acres less than remained to the Pequots in 1728. Williams's claim of eighty-three acres and ninety rods will nearly account for the difference. Williams was not one of the tenants, but had bought out the claim of a squatter on the reservation.

declaration to the Assembly that they noted out John Richards from being their guardian and wished Daniel Coit appointed in his place. The Assembly humored them, excluded Richards, and appointed Coit in conjunction with Elisha Fitch of Norwich.

In 1762, the Groton Pequots numbered from twenty to thirty families, containing one hundred and seventy-six individuals.*

In 1788, the eastern band presented a petition to the Assembly, subscribed by the marks of thirty persons, twenty-two of whom were women. It represented that the petitioners had been for several years without an overseer, and their affairs had consequently gone on after a very confused fashion. Some had obtained double their proportion of the profits of the lands, and had refused to pay their share of what ought to be common expenses, such as supporting the poor and keeping up the inclosure of the reservation. They therefore desired overseers: but, as there were several of their white neighbors who only wanted an opportunity to strip them of all they possessed, they wished to select those for the office in whom they could place confidence. The two persons upon whom they had fixed were Charles Huit of Stonington and Elisha Williams of Groton.†

The Assembly appointed Huit; but, for some reason now unknown, selected Stephen Billings of Groton in place of Elisha Williams.

Little was done at this period for the religious or educational benefit of the tribe. In 1776, the situation of the

* Memoir of the Pequots, Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. X, p. 103.
† Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 252.

Groton band having been brought before the Assembly, as a proper subject for amelioration, a committee was chosen to inquire into its condition; and was empowered to give what orders it thought proper for their religious and intellectual education, and to draw on the colonial treasury for this purpose to the amount of twenty pounds. The committee found one hundred and fifty-one Indians living on the lands at Mashantuxet, of whom about half were under sixteen years of age. All were in poverty-stricken circumstances, and many were widows whose husbands had perished in the colonial armies during the late wars with Canada. Their houses were chiefly within a mile square; their land was by no means the best, yet some of it was good and cultivated after the English fashion. There was a small school-house in which one Hugh Sweetingham was now teaching, having been hired for that purpose, at twelve pounds a year, by the missionary society in England. From the same source the Rev. Mr. Johnson received six shillings and eight pence for every sermon which he preached to the Indians. A considerable number of the Pequots were willing to hear the gospel and send their children to school, but were generally so poor that they could not provide them with decent clothing for that purpose. The committee expended the twenty pounds in buying clothing and school books for these children; and they stated, in their report to the Assembly, that further appropriations would be needed in the winter. The compensation of Sweetingham was, in their opinion, insufficient; and so also was that of Mr. Johnson, especially as he attended the Indians in sickness and at funerals. Twenty pounds additional

were therefore appropriated [October, 1766,] for the benefit of the Pequot children, five pounds to Mr. Johnson, and four pounds to increase the salary of Sweetingham.*

With the above account of the numbers of the Mushantuxet Pequots it may be well to compare the result of the census of the Indians in the colony taken in 1774.† By this census the number of Indians in Groton amounted to one hundred and eighty-six, which is thirty-five more than the committee found at Mushantuxet. This difference is easily accounted for, by the supposition that some Pequots lived in the township who did not remain on the reservation, or by taking into consideration the vagrant, visiting mode of life which has prevailed among the aborigines from their first discovery to the present day. But what are we to think when this same census informs us that the number of Indians in Stonington was two hundred and thirty-seven? Here, it appears to me, must be some considerable mistake. The Stonington band of Pequots was smaller than that of Groton at the beginning, and it is smaller now. In 1713, sixty-one years before this census was taken, it only counted thirty-three grown men, or about one hundred and fifty individuals.‡ It is not probable that it was more numerous or even as numerous in 1774 as in 1713; nor have we much reason to suppose that Indians from any other tribe had collected in this stony and barren township, where so small a reservation had been made for the ancient proprietors.

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Documents 238, 239.

† Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. X, p. 116.

‡ See the petition of Mary Momoho presented in 1713. Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 73.

In 1786, many of the Pequots, uniting with other Indians of Connecticut, moved to New York, where they formed the nucleus of the Brothertown tribe.

The division of 1761, giving two-fifths of the Pequot lands in Groton to the men who had leased them, ought to have put an end to all encroachments; but it did not. The portion reserved to the Indians had been surveyed, but never marked out: the survey was lost, and it was suspected that some of the late tenants had destroyed or concealed it. Encroachments re-commenced; and, in 1773, twenty-six of the Pequots presented a complaint concerning them to the Assembly. A committee was appointed to mark out the bounds of the land, but could accomplish nothing because of the loss of the official survey. The committee, Edward Mott, then asked that he might survey the tract himself at the expense of the claimants, who were willing to defray it, so that they might be assured of their property. This was granted; but the adjacent landholders threw various obstacles in the way; the opening of the revolutionary war drew the attention of the Assembly to weightier matters; and it was not till 1785 that the wrongs and the precarious situation of the Pequots with regard to their lands again attracted attention. Joseph Scordaub, in the name of the whole tribe, then presented a memorial on the subject, which secured the appointment of a new committee empowered to survey and mark out the reservation. The survey was not completed and brought before the Assembly till 1793; and then the neighboring farmers (the former tenants) presented objections to it, on the ground that it left them less land than had been awarded to them in 1761. The

settlement was therefore postponed; and in 1800 the overseers, Samuel Mott and Isaac Avery, presented an account of the affair to the Assembly and asked for directions. In reply, they were empowered to make over and deed away those tracts which were in dispute, wherever the white claimants would pay the prices at which they should be appraised. This was, in effect, a confirmation of the Pequot claims; and none of the whites choosing to pay for the land, the former retained it in their possession.*

Within a few years of the commencement of this century the Stonington Pequots were visited by President Dwight, who has left us several interesting particulars of their condition at that period. He found some residing in wigwams, others in framed houses the best of which were small, rude and almost worthless as a protection against the weather. In these wretched tenements lived about two-thirds of the tribe; the others being distributed as servants among the English families of the neighborhood. They were in poverty, misery and degradation; excessively idle, licentious and intemperate: in a single drunken frolic they would squander the earnings of a year. A small number, both of men and women, were reputed to be honest; but the rest were liars and thieves, although with too little enterprise to steal any thing of importance. There was no such thing among them as marriage, the two sexes cohabiting without ceremony or covenant, and deserting each other at pleasure. The children were sometimes placed by their parents with

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Documents 243—249. Colonial Records, Vols. X, XI. State Records, Vols. III, VI.

English farmers, and often behaved well for a time, but as they became older, grew up to be as vicious and good for nothing as their fathers. Some of those who hired out as servants were tolerably industrious; and the women among them, especially, showed a great fondness for dress, and were often seen at church. The others dozed away life in slothful inactivity; were always half-naked, and very often half-starved. This is indeed a sad account. One hundred and sixty years of contact with a Christian race had not brightened the condition of the Pequots morally or intellectually, and physically had darkened it.

Among this miserable band of human beings there was, however, one aged man, who, to considerable natural intelligence, seems to have united a sense of religion. For a series of years he had preached to the others, and sometimes, it was said, gave them very excellent exhortations. His degraded countrymen held him in much respect, and occasionally assembled very generally to listen to his discourses. This man, probably, was the sole remaining fruit of the religious interest which took place among the Pequots about 1742. The respect with which his people regarded him is a striking instance of the influence which consistent purity of character will often exert even in the most debased and abandoned communities.*

In 1820, this band counted fifty individuals. Their principal men were Samuel and Cyrus Shelley, Samuel Shantup and James Ned. With few exceptions they were still intemperate and improvident; of course, poor and miserable. They made brooms, baskets and similar

* Dwight's Travels, Vol. III, pp. 27—29.

articles, and generally exchanged them for ardent spirits. They enjoyed the same opportunities of attending religious worship and sending their children to school, as the white people of the town, but seldom availed themselves of these privileges. A few, however, were apparently pious, and held a meeting once a month at which they all spoke in turn.*

In 1832, the Groton Pequots numbered about forty persons of both sexes and all ages. They were considerably mixed with white and negro blood; but still possessed a feeling of clanship, and still preserved their ancient national hatred for the Mohegans. This antipathy was heartily returned; and it was very seldom that intermarriages took place between the two tribes. Compared with the Mohegans, the Pequots were more vicious in their habits, less pure in point of race, less decent and less good looking in their persons. Their most common name was Meazen, nearly half the families in the tribe being thus designated.†

The following facts concerning their situation at the present day were collected in North Stonington during the fall of 1848. Their land amounts to about two hundred and forty acres, originally as good as most in the vicinity, but long used chiefly for pasturage, and now much worn down. Some years since, several lots were cultivated by the Indians themselves; at present not one. The number of families living on the tract is reduced to three, of which one consists of three individuals, another of the parents and nine children, and the third of a single

* Morse's Report on the Indian Tribes.
† Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXIII, p. 134.

man who lives alone. There is a very aged woman, likewise, who lives a little off from the reservation. The others of the tribe have scattered because the heads of the families are dead. Some are in Ledyard, some in Preston, others in Providence, and thus throughout various parts of the country. A few lately came from some part of New York, to see if there was any thing accruing to them from the property of the tribe. The land rents, annually, for about one hundred dollars, which by no means supports even those few who remain on it. Only one, Sam Shantup, lives in a house; the rest occupy huts. Some of the children have been taught a little at school. Others have been put out to service, but, owing to their idleness and improvidence, with very little result. None of them work; they are all extravagant and intemperate; and in morals they are as miserable as miserable can be.

To the overseer of the Ledyard Pequots, William Morgan, Esq., I am indebted for an account of the community under his care. The reservation has not diminished since the division of 1761, and still consists of about nine hundred and eighty-nine acres, of which the greater portion is woodland. The cleared land is rented to white tenants, and brings in a revenue of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred dollars a year. One acre would include all that is cultivated by the Pequots, who cannot be induced to till any more than will serve for their garden spots. The houses on the reservation are seven in number, one story in height, and varying from one to four rooms. They are situated where the quality of the land is good and, though small, are comfortable and much superior in condition to their occupants. The band now numbers

twenty-eight persons, of whom twenty reside in Ledyard, while one is in New Haven, one with the Mohegans, two in Windham, and three are gone on whaling voyages. Some twenty years since five or six of them joined the Stockbridge Indians in Oneida County, New York, and have not since returned, except that one of them once made a visit of a few weeks among his old acquaintance. Those who remain in Ledyard show no disposition to attend on schooling or preaching; and some of them are particularly given in their conversation to violent scolding and vulgarity. They work not above one or two days at a time, either laboring for some neighboring farmer or making baskets, for sale, at home; and, having thus obtained a little money, they drink and idle about until it is all gone, when they set to work again after the same fashion as before. None of the pure Pequot race are left; all being mixed with Indians of other tribes, or with whites and negroes. One little girl among them has blue eyes and light hair, and her skin is fairer than that of the majority of white persons. There is no such thing as regular marriage among them. In numbers they do not increase, and, if any thing, diminish. The community, like all of the same kind in the State, is noted for its wandering propensities; some or other of its members being almost continually on the stroll around Ledyard and the neighboring townships. From a fellow feeling, therefore, they are extremely hospitable to all vagabonds; receiving without hesitation all that come to them, whether white, mulatto, Indian or negro.*

Such is the present situation and character of the Mu-

* Letter of Mr. Morgan, dated August 22d, 1849.

shantuxet band of the once free, warlike and high-spirited tribe of the Pequots. Thus, too, for the time, does the sad history of this unfortunate people come to a close. Nothing is left but a little and miserable remnant, hanging around the seats where their ancestors once reigned supreme, as a few half-withered leaves may sometimes be seen clinging to the upper branches of a blighted and dying tree.

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF THE MOHEGANS FROM THE CLOSE OF THE COURT ON THEIR DISPUTED LANDS IN 1743 TO 1849.

I SHALL now take up the history of the Mohegans where it was left in 1743, and bring it down to the present time. Nothing of consequence occurred till the death of their sachem, Ben Uncas, which appears to have taken place in 1749.* His will, dated May the 8th, 1745, was, of course, drawn up by some white person; but, as some of the ideas may have been original with the sachem, I shall here give an extract from its opening passage.

"In the name of God, Amen. I, Benjamin Uncas, sachem of the Mohegan tribe of Indians, sensible that I am born to die, and also knowing that the time when is uncertain, do now, in my health and strength, for which I desire to praise God, make and ordain this my last Will and Testament. I give and recommend my soul into the hands of God who made it, trusting in Christ for the free and full pardon of all my sins and for obtaining eternal life. My body I commit to the earth, to be buried in devout Christian burial, at and in the sepulcher of my ancestors in the common Indian kings's burying ground in the town of Norwich. And I believe, that, through the mighty

* Indian Papers, Vol. II.

power of God, my body shall be raised at the last day, and soul and body be re-united and live together never more to be separated."

The sachem appointed Benjamin, his only son, as his successor, on condition that he proved himself a man of prudence and discretion, that he governed the Mohegans with justice and equity, that by his conversation and behavior he induced them to love and follow the Christian religion, that he submitted himself to the direction of the Assembly, and that his general conduct and policy were such as that body could approve. Very severe conditions were these, it must be confessed, and such as many a monarch would not have found it easy to fulfill. His personal property Ben divided into seven parts, and left one each to his wife, his son and his five daughters. If any one of them should die childless, or rebel against the colony, his portion was to be shared among the others. In conclusion, he expressed his desire that all his children might be brought up and educated in the Christian religion, which he affirmed to be his own choice, and in which he declared that he hoped to live and die.*

On the death of the sachem a large part of the tribe united on his son; giving expression to their choice, however, in the following highly democratic style.

"We, the Indians commonly called Moyanhegunnewog, having had several meetings to consult about a sachem, and finding that we cannot be a distinct people without a head, have nominated Benjamin Uncas, if he will consent to all the articles which his father left in his last will concerning the matter. And, having examined the said

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 38.

Ben Uncas and heard his consent to all the above mentioned articles, and that he purposes, by divine help and assistance, to conform himself to them all; so now, upon those very terms and no others, we do choose Ben Uncas to be our sachem; and we do also, as one, promise him to be loving, faithful and obedient subjects, so long as he shall maintain and walk agreeably to his father's last Will and Testament concerning the sachemship."*

This paper was undersigned with the marks of thirty-nine Indians, and with the signatures, in a good clear hand, of two others, John Dantiquidgeon† and Samson Occum.

A memorial was likewise forwarded to the Assembly, by Ben, saying that he had been elected sachem of the Mohegans, and that he had chosen seven councilors (whom he named) to assist him in the government. No objection was made, and both Ben and his councilors were confirmed in their dignities.‡

In 1755 commenced the last, the most exhausting, but finally the most triumphant, of the wars which the colonies had to sustain against the French of Canada. Connecticut, then containing a population of about one hundred and sixty thousand persons, repeatedly had five thousand men in the field; and, in the disastrous campaign of 1757, when Fort William Henry was taken, she raised her complement to six thousand and four hundred. The Indians of Canada assisted the French, and the English called on the tribes south of the St. Lawrence to take up the hatchet for them. The Mohawks pledged their

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 34. † Usually spelt Tantaquigeon.
‡ Indian Papers, Vol. II, Doc. 35. Colonial Records, Vol. VIII.

friendship to Sir William Johnson; their example was followed by their nephews, the Stockbridges; and the Stockbridges sent a messenger to Connecticut, to wake up their brothers, the Mohegans. The Mohegans unanimously expressed their willingness to fight against a people who, as they were told, were perfidious, implacable and cruel. Many of the tribe joined the colonial ranks, and many others would have followed, had not the Assembly discouraged it in consequence of the overburthening expense which already pressed upon the colony in supporting its own conscriptions. The wages of Indian soldiers who fell in the contest were, by enactment of the Assembly of Connecticut, paid over to the heirs of the deceased, or laid out for their benefit. The close of this war left orphans and widows among the Mohegans, as well as among those who had been directly interested in the success of the struggle, the English and the English colonists.*

The old controversy in the tribe was not yet asleep; for the Masons were still in hopes of obtaining a new trial and an ultimate triumph. These hopes, probably, were not completely dashed until the revolution: until that event, at least, the subject seems to have continued to produce more or less of uneasiness among the Mohegans. In 1760, Ben Uncas complained to the Assembly that a party among his people had set up one Henry Quaquaquid as sachem, in opposition to himself, and that Quaquaquid had received some messages of approbation from Sir William Johnson. These Indians who supported Quaquaquid were not, he said, true Mohegans, but only

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Documents 94, 102.

strangers who had married into the tribe, and were incited to their present rebellious behavior by a set called the Mason family. They refused to obey him; they would not attend the religious meetings; they sold the firewood of the tribe to some of the whites, and gave others liberty to carry it away; nor was it possible for himself or his guardians to control them. He therefore hoped that the Assembly would either compel these Indians to submit to him, their lawful sachem, or would deprive them of the privileges which they enjoyed under pretense of being members of the tribe.*

The committee appointed on this petition did not enter into all the views of the sachem; but reported that some mischief had, without doubt, been done to the Mohegans by cutting away their wood. It was therefore enacted, that no person should cut or carry off wood from the reservation without forfeiting three times the value of what he thus cut or carried away, the fine being devoted to the benefit of the tribe.†

The Rev. Eliphalet Adams, of Montville, then a part of New London, with David Jewit, another clergyman of the same town, had now for many years labored among the Mohegans, though with no very eminent success. Both were excellent men; and Adams is styled in one of the petitions of Ben Uncas and his people "their faithful and venerable pastor." He died in 1753, aged seventy-seven; but he continued his care over the Mohegans to the last year of his life: as we find him in 1752 petitioning the Assembly, in conjunction with Jewit, to make an

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 103.

† Indian Papers, Vol. II, Documents 104, 105.

appropriation for repairs of the Indian school-house. The petition was successful; a sum being voted for repairing the building and erecting a "lean-to" on one side of it for the better accommodation of the teacher and his family. This teacher was Robert Clelland, a man who had just been stationed there by the missionary society in England, and who exercised his office, partly at the charge of the society, partly at that of the colony, at least as late as 1763.*

Two years after this appropriation, [1754,] a law book was presented to the Mohegans by the Assembly; and Clelland was directed to read and explain to them, at least twice a year, the capital laws of the colony and those statutes which related particularly to the Indians.† In 1760, Clelland complained that his salary was not large enough, and petitioned the Legislature for an increase. Forty pounds were granted him: a considerable sum if the bills of the colony were then at their par value; but this is hardly probable. It was, however, soon, if not now, his whole annual salary; the society in England withdrawing its support: and the rest of his living Clelland was obliged to obtain by his own labor, probably by cultivating some portion of the Mohegan land.

Owing to the late war there were many orphans at this time in the tribe; and there were, likewise, many other children whose parents were too poor, or too intemperate, to provide them with even sufficient food. In winter they were in general tolerably supplied; but in summer, before the crops were gathered in, they were too often pinched with hunger. On account of this their poverty

* Colonial Records, Vol. VIII. † Colonial Records, Vol. VIII.

as well as their natural dislike of confinement, Clelland found no small difficulty in getting the members of his little charge together. Sometimes he went out into the fields to search for them; and sometimes he went to the cabins of the parents to persuade them to do what they could in getting the children regularly to school. Finally he commenced giving each of the poorer scholars a piece of bread every day for dinner. This plan had a good effect; the hunger of the young Mohegans conquering their antipathy to confinement and study. Clelland's means, however, would not allow him to continue the practice, and he petitioned the Assembly for assistance. Six pounds were appropriated for this purpose in 1761, and six pounds and ten shillings more in 1762. At the same time with this last grant fifteen pounds were voted to Clelland himself, as a further remuneration for his services during the preceding three years. The last notice of Clelland which I have met with is dated May, 1763, at which time he obtained seven pounds more from the Assembly, also for the purpose of procuring his scholars food.*

It now becomes proper to notice an institution which was long a ground of hope to those who looked with anxiety for the conversion and civilization of the aborigines of this part of North America. Eleazer Wheelock, a clergyman of fine talents, of earnest character and of devoted piety, was settled in 1735 over the second congregational church in the town of Lebanon. It was his custom, like many other ministers of that day and long afterwards, to keep several youths in his family, whom he taught in the higher branches of English and in

* Colonial Records, Vol. IX. Indian Papers, Vol. II, Doc'ts. 106, 107.

the classics. In December, 1743, a young Mohegan applied for admission among his scholars, whose name has since become more famous than that of any other of his tribe, unless we except the first Uncas. Samson Occom was born in 1723, at Mohegan, and grew up in the pagan faith, and in the rude customs which were then common to nearly the whole of his countrymen. During the great religious excitement of 1739 and 1740, he became convinced of the truth of christianity and deeply alarmed for his own lost situation. For six months he was in the gloom of night; but then light broke upon his soul, and he commenced that Christian pilgrimage which, it is believed, terminated not on this side of the grave. From this time the desire seems to have pressed upon his heart, to become a teacher to his brethren, and unfold to them the truths of that religion which he had embraced. He now stood before Wheelock asking to be instructed for this purpose.

It was not in the heart of this excellent man to neglect so good an opportunity for the benefit of an individual, and perhaps of an entire race. Occom could already read by spelling, and, since his conversion, he had spelled out a considerable portion of the bible. His education recommenced in Wheelock's family, and here he remained three years, when he removed, for one year, to the home of Mr. Pomroy, clergyman of Hebron. During the four years that Occom remained with Wheelock and Pomroy he learned to speak and write English with facility, he studied both the Latin and Greek, and he even paid some attention to the acquisition of Hebrew. A part of the expense of his education was contributed by the mis-

sionary society in the mother country so often alluded to in the preceding chapters.

It was intended that Occom should complete his education at college; but his health failed him under confinement, his eyes became affected, and he was obliged, for a while, to give up his studies. In 1748, he is known to have taught school for a time in New London. During the same year, he went over to Long Island, and became the religious teacher of the Montauk Indians; preaching also, at times, to the Skenecock or Yenecock tribe, situated thirty miles distant. During this period, he lived in a wigwam covered with mats, and moved twice a year with the Indians, going to the planting grounds with them in summer, and to the woodlands for better conveniences of fuel in winter. He supported himself by fishing and hunting, by binding old books for the East Hampton people, by stocking broken guns, and by making wooden spoons, pails, piggins and churns. For ten or eleven years he lived in this manner, during which time a revival took place among the Indians to whom he preached, and many of them were converted. Occom was thought also to have done considerable good, by diverting the converted Montauks from a fanatical wildness into which they had been led by some enthusiastic preachers from New England. During all this time, he was carrying on his studies; and, having acquired a tolerable knowledge of theology, he was examined by the clergymen of the Association of Windham County, Connecticut, and regularly licensed to preach. On the twenty-ninth of August, 1759, he was ordained by the Suffolk Presbyterv on Long Island, and was ever

afterwards regarded as a regular member of that ecclesiastical body.

The case of Occom encouraged Mr. Wheelock to undertake the enterprise of an Indian school, for the forming of teachers and ministers who might be employed in the conversion of their countrymen. He commenced, in 1754, with two Delaware boys; other additions were soon made, and, by 1762, his scholars amounted to above twenty. Only one among this number was a Mohegan; Wheelock doubtless considering that two good teachers would be sufficient for so small a community. This one was Isaiah Uncas, son of the then sachem, a youth of feeble health and of dull intellect. Six of the others were Mohawks, the remainder chiefly Delawares. Four of the scholars were girls, for whom Wheelock obtained instruction in sewing and housewifery from the women of the neighborhood. A number of gentlemen in Boston contributed liberally for the support of the school; and many presents, usually ranging from ten to fifty pounds, were received, some from societies, but chiefly from nobles and gentlemen, in England.*

In 1763, Wheelock petitioned the Assembly of Connecticut for assistance, and obtained a brief, recommending the people of all the parishes throughout the colony to contribute to the support of the school. Six men in different parts of Connecticut were appointed to receive the money, and Wheelock was authorized to draw for it

* For the above particulars concerning Occom, and Wheelock's school, see Wheelock's letter (of December 6th, 1762,) to the Marquis of Lothian; Wheelock's Memoirs by Rev. David M'Clure; and Allen's Biographical Dictionary. The letter was printed in the form of a tract, and one copy exists among the pamphlets of the Yale College Library.

directly upon them. But it was an unfortunate time for the people of Connecticut, or of any other English colony, to be called on to contribute for the benefit of the aborigines. The war of 1756 still continued; the Indian tribes had mostly declared for the French; and a line of blood and fire was marked all along the frontier of the colonies from the Gulf of Mexico to the St. Lawrence. The Connecticut settlers in Wyoming had lately been attacked and driven away, and the garrisons of a long chain of forts on the northwestern frontier had been treacherously surprised and massacred. Among the numerous clans who committed these ravages were the Delawares and the Mohawks, and there were Mohawks and Delawares among the Indian boys whom Wheelock was teaching to read and write in the school for which he was now soliciting contributions. Collections were taken up in a few churches, but were very small: the greater part of the ministers delayed the matter, in consideration of the public feeling, and sent to the Assembly for directions. A proclamation was therefore issued by the governor, that those ministers who had not read the brief to their people should suspend the publishment of it till further orders. Three years after, [1766,] Wheelock forwarded a new petition, stating that the number of his scholars had increased, and asking that the brief might now again be published. It was done, but with what results I am unable to say.*

Another enterprise for supporting the school was now undertaken, which resulted in the most gratifying success. It was resolved that Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker of Norwich

* Colonial Records, Vol. X.

should go to England, to solicit contributions, and take with him Samson Occom, as an exhibition to the people of England of what christianity had done, and what it could do, for the natives of North America. Occom was, at this time, forty-three years old; well educated, well acquainted with the English language, and of respectable though not distinguished talents. His features and complexion bore every mark of his race; yet his manners in society were easy though unassuming; he expressed himself in conversation with brevity and propriety; and his deportment in the pulpit was such as to draw attention and command respect. He could extemporize with readiness if necessary; but usually wrote his sermons, in a style, not always correct indeed, and somewhat diffuse, but on the whole forcible and solemn. He was said, however, to be far more easy, more natural and more eloquent, in his diction and delivery, when preaching to his own poor countrymen, than when addressing the wealthy and intelligent audiences which gathered to hear him in Boston and New York, or in the cities of the mother country.

His appearance in England produced an extraordinary sensation; and he preached with great applause, in London and other principal cities of Great Britain, to crowded audiences. From the sixteenth of February, 1766, to the twenty-second of July, 1767, he delivered between three and four hundred sermons. Large contributions were taken up after his discourses; the king himself, at the solicitation of the pious and benevolent Earl of Dartmouth, gave two hundred pounds; and, in the whole enterprise, seven thousand pounds were

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SAMSON OCCOM

collected in England, and two or three thousand in Scotland.*

The success of this attempt resulted in transferring Wheelock's school to New Hampshire, which, it was thought, would be a better place for an Indian seminary than the more thickly settled colony of Connecticut. It was there incorporated as Dartmouth College, by which name it still exists; although the object for which the institution was founded has long been, in a great measure, abandoned. Its connection with the Indians of Connecticut, even while it still remained at Lebanon, was always slight. Occom was educated by Wheelock before the school for Indians was opened; and, besides Occom, the only Mohegans ever placed under his care seem to have been Joseph Johnson, another eminent preacher, and Isaiah Uncas.

During this time, the Mason law suit was still in suspense in England, and the Mason party among the Mohegans still manifested a factious and troublesome spirit. Ben Uncas, the sachem, a man of dull and even stupid intellect, possessed but little influence among his people, and his usual resource was to complain to the Assembly. In 1765, he presented a memorial by one Zachary Johnson, who seems to have been his principal councilor, and who was for long afterwards one of the leading men in the tribe. He said that Zachary had had a mare shot in the fields by some of the factious Indians; that his own life had been threatened by one of them, named Jo Wyacks; and that he greatly feared bloodshed would ensue, unless the Assembly should interpose its

* M'Clure's Life of Wheelock, pp. 16, 17.

authority to quiet the disturbances. Zachary's life, also, had been threatened by one Jacob Hoscoit; and Hoscoit had said that he cared nothing for the governor, but depended on Sir William Johnson for obtaining himself and the other Mohegans their rights. Ben also complained of Occom, or Samson, as he called him, as being a restless man, and as having gone to Boston, to induce the commissioners of the missionary society* to dismiss the present schoolmaster. With this design he urged the Assembly to interfere; because he was sure that, if this teacher was sent away, no other could be found who would be of so much service. Ben mentioned other causes of complaint against the Mason Indians, and closed by expressing his high displeasure at their pertinacious disobedience.†

A committee was chosen to convene the Mohegans, listen to their differences, and, if possible, put an end to them. No more complaints were made for some years; and it is probable that the exertions of the committee, Jonathan Trumbull and Jabez Huntington, produced a good effect.

In May, 1769, died Ben Uncas, the last sachem of the Mohegans. The news being transmitted to the Assembly, then in session, a committee was immediately appointed, to go to Mohegan, and consult with the Indians about the best method of choosing a successor, and of preventing any new quarrels as to the lands. Three of the committeemen, William Hillhouse, Gurdon Saltonstall and Pygan Adams, arrived in time to attend the funeral of the deceased sachem. A mixed audience of English, of Mohe-

* The Society "for propagating the gospel in New England."
† Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 259.

gans, and of Indians from other tribes, had assembled; and a sermon was preached by a sincere friend of the nation, the Rev. David Jewit of New London. Before the services were over, Samson Occom rose and left, though for what cause is not stated; and his example was followed by many others, all like him of the disaffected party. The body was heavy, and had been kept for several days: so many Indians had gone that the rest hardly thought they could carry it to Norwich; and, with the consent of his family, Ben Uncas was interred on the Indian lands at Mohegan.*

The committee found all the former quarrels of the Mohegans revived and broken out with double violence upon the question of the successorship. Occom, who, since his return from England, had been preaching part of the time at Mohegan, was in favor of John Uncas; and so also were John Cooper, Jo Wyacks and most of the leading men of the tribe. It was said that John's title was publicly recognized by his party the same day that Ben died; and the committee were obliged to confess that, besides the family of Ben, not more than four or five Mohegans could be induced to acknowledge any person as sachem whom the Assembly would approve. The great body of the nation regarded all the past acts of the colony towards them as having been actuated by one motive: the desire of robbing them of their lands. Mason and his party were continually plying them with intrigues and councils; and it was whispered about, that repre-

* He was subsequently, however, exhumed, and re-interred at Norwich. Indian Papers, Vol. II, Doc. 286. See Appendix, Art. VI, for an account of the Mohegan cemetery at Norwich.

sentations referring to the present occasion were under preparation to be sent to England.*

Another committee had been appointed soon after the first, and had been furnished with the following explicit directions. They were to acquaint Isaiah Uncas with all that the colony had done for the first Uncas and his successors; with the state of the suit now prosecuting in England by John Mason; and with the releases in favor of the colony which had been executed by the first Ben Uncas and his people. Secondly, they were to recommend the appointment of Isaiah as sachem; to stay among the Mohegans until he was installed in that dignity; to endeavor to soothe the differences which agitated the tribe; to procure a division of the lands, and to obtain papers, if possible, to assist in opposing the suit of Mason.† The committee went; but could effect nothing, either as to the sachemship or the division of the lands; and, if they had undertaken to remain at Mohegan until the installation of Isaiah as sachem, they would have remained there forever. Several of the Indians met them at the house of a Mr. James, and were persuaded, with some difficulty, to attend a meeting, the next day, at Samson Occom's. Only a few came. Those who favored John Uncas refused to say any thing, except that they wanted no help or advice from the colony, and that they did not choose to appoint a sachem or divide their lands until they heard how the case had gone in England. The others wished to have Isaiah installed, and were desirous that the colony should interfere to bring it about; but even they seemed unwilling to proceed to a division of

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Doc. 286. † Colonial Records, Vol. X.

the lands. All the efforts and propositions of the committee were useless; and they were finally obliged to give up their errand, and return to Hartford to report their ill success.*



Samson Occom's house in Mohegan, Montville.

Occom, it has been seen, was inclined to the Mason party; yet it is not probable that he was one of those intemperate spirits who were so confident of final victory and who made so much trouble in the tribe. A letter of his, written after the result of the case became known, is still in preservation, and a passage from it is worthy of being quoted.

"The grand controversy," he observes, "which has subsisted between the colony of Connecticut and the Mohegan Indians above seventy years, is finally decided in favor of the colony. I am afraid the poor Indians will never stand a good chance with the English in their land controversies; because they are very poor, they have no money. Money is almighty now-a-days; and the In-

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 287.

dians have no learning, no wit, no cunning: the English have all."*

After the report of the committee last mentioned, a bill was passed by the Assembly, appropriating thirty pounds for presents to Isaiah and his attendants. This was on pretense of the "ancient friendship between the Mohegans and the colony;" but its real object, of course, was to retain Isaiah and his followers in their present friendly disposition, and, if possible, induce others to join them. The money was expended, partly in presents to Isaiah and some of his adherents, partly in paying their expenses while on a visit to Hartford, and partly in purchasing various articles for the widow and family of the late sachem.†

Isaiah Uncas died‡ sometime during 1770, and with him expired the male line of the Ben Uncas family. Neither John, the rival pretender, nor any other person, dared assume the office against the will of the colony. Isaiah himself was not sachem, and no one has ever been sachem after him.

At this time Willard Hubbard had succeeded Robert Clelland as school teacher among the Mohegans, with a salary, from the "Society," of twenty-four pounds a year. In October, 1769, he petitioned the Assembly to add something to this small sum; saying that he could not support his family on it, even with the addition of his own labor out of school hours; and that he had sunk thirty pounds during his stay. No favorable notice seems to have been taken of the request, and in 1772 he peti-

* History of Norwich, p. 163. † Indian Papers, Vol. II, Doc'ts 287, 291.
‡ Barber, p. 337.

tioned again; asking that, at least, he might be allowed to use a portion of the Indian land. His petition was accompanied by a letter from three of the neighboring whites, recommending Hubbard to the favor of the Legislature as being a useful man who was well fitted for his situation. Whatever may have been the reasons, the Assembly remained obdurate, and refused to grant any thing. Two years after, Hubbard made another effort, and found the legislators in a more liberal humor. The Mohegan school-house and the dwelling-house attached to it both being in a ruinous condition, he had laid out nearly five pounds in repairing them. This sum the Assembly not only repaid him, but granted him six pounds in addition to his previous salary. It is not known how long this man employed himself in teaching the Mohegan children, but it is certain that he was thus engaged as early as 1765, and that he continued in his position at least as late as 1774.*

In the latter part of 1771, a Mohegan named Moses Paul was tried, condemned and sentenced to death, for the murder of Moses Clark. A large assembly of English and Indians collected to witness his execution; and, by request of the prisoner, Occom preached a funeral sermon, before the poor wretch was launched into eternity. He took for his text the following passage from the epistle to the Romans: "For the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord." He described the death which is here alluded to, in a forcible and solemn style; and then enlarged upon the greater awfulness which attended it on account of its

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Doc'ts. 293, 297, 298, 306.

never-ending nature. Then, seizing upon the idea of eternity, he exclaimed, "And O eternity! eternity! Who can measure it? Who can count the years thereof? Arithmetic must fail; the thoughts of men and angels are drowned in it; how shall we describe eternity! to what shall we compare it! Were it possible to employ a fly to carry off this globe by the small particles thereof, and to carry them to such a distance that it should return once in ten thousand years for another particle, and so continue till it has carried off all this globe, and framed them together in some unknown space till it has made just such another world as this is: after all, eternity would remain the same unexhausted duration. And this eternal death must be the unavoidable portion of all impenitent sinners, let them be who they will, great or small, honorable or ignoble, rich or poor, bond or free. Negroes, Indians, English or what nation soever, all that die in their sins, must go to hell together: for the wages of sin is death."

The preacher then made a long and earnest address to the doomed prisoner, pointing out the frightful nature of his crime, explaining the divine mode of salvation, and urging him with pathos and energy to accept of it. And, as the murder had been committed under the influence of strong drink, he failed not to urge his brethren, the Mohegans, to open their eyes to the evils of intemperance, and fly from them utterly and forever. "My poor kindred," he exclaimed, "you see the woful consequences of sin by seeing this, our poor miserable countryman, now before us, who is to die for his sins and great wickedness. And it was the sin of drunkenness that has brought this destruction and untimely death upon him. There

is a dreadful woe denounced from the Almighty against drunkards; and it is this sin, this abominable, this beastly sin, of drunkenness, that has stript us of every desirable comfort in this life: by this sin we have no name or credit in the world among polite nations; for this sin we are despised in the world; and it is all right and just, for we despise ourselves more; and, if we don't regard ourselves, who will regard us? By this sin we can't have comfortable houses; nor any thing comfortable in our houses; neither food, nor raiment, nor decent utensils. We are obliged to put up any sort of shelter, just to screen us from the severity of the weather; and we go about with very mean, ragged and dirty clothes, almost naked. And we are half-starved, and, most of the time, obliged to pick up any thing to eat. And our poor children are suffering every day for want of the necessaries of life; they are very often crying for want of food, and we have nothing to give them; and in the cold weather they are shivering and crying, being pinched with cold. All this is for the love of strong drink. And this is not all the misery and evil we bring on ourselves in this world; but when we are intoxicated with strong drink we drown our rational powers by which we are distinguished from the brutal creation; we unman ourselves and bring ourselves not only level with the beasts of the field but seven degrees beneath them; yea, we bring ourselves level with the devils; I don't know but we make ourselves worse than the devils, for I never heard of a drunken devil."

They have been cheated, he proceeds to say, by means of drunkenness; they have been drowned and frozen

through drunkenness; yet, for all this, drunkenness is not a matter of shame among them: the young men will get drunk, as soon as they will eat when they are hungry; and, while no sight is more shocking, none is more common than that of a drunken woman.

He closed his discourse with the following general exhortation. "And now let me exhort you all, to break off your drunkenness by a gospel repentance; and believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and you shall be saved. Take warning by this doleful sight before us, and by all the dreadful judgments that have befallen poor drunkards. O let us all reform our lives and live as becomes dying creatures in time to come. Let us be persuaded that we are accountable creatures to God, and must be called to an account in a few days. You that have been careless all your days, now awake to righteousness and be concerned for your poor and never-dying souls. Fight against all sins and especially against the sin that easily besets you, and behave in time to come as becomes rational creatures; and above all things believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and you shall have eternal life, and, when you come to die, your souls will be received into heaven, there to be with the Lord Jesus in eternal happiness with all the saints in glory; which God of his infinite mercy grant through Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen."*

Such is a brief sketch of the sermon of Occom on this occasion. It certainly is not eloquence, nor does it evince any great degree of talent or originality; but it is truthful, earnest speaking, and argues well for what the preacher

* Pamphlets in the library of the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford, number 225.

could accomplish in his own native tongue. It is probable that few of his Indian hearers understood English well enough to comprehend all this discourse; and many doubtless hardly comprehended any portion of it.

Efforts were being made, about this time, by one or two of the Mohegans, for inducing their countrymen to leave their present home and move into the unoccupied lands of the Six Nations. Occom sympathized in the movement; but the principal agent in the enterprise was Joseph Johnson, another Mohegan minister. Johnson was educated in Wheelock's school; and was afterwards, at the age of fifteen, sent as a schoolmaster to the Six Nations. In their country he remained about two years, when he forsook his employment, and led a roving and somewhat vicious life till 1771. At that time he reached home from a whaling voyage, sick with a disease contracted through his excesses. He began to read the New Testament and Baxter's Saint's Rest; was deeply distressed for a time by his convictions, but finally obtained a consciousness of pardon. He was well acquainted with theology, and was, perhaps, not inferior in talents to Occom; but he had been less thoroughly educated, and was less capable, therefore, of distinguishing himself before an English audience.*

His present object was to induce, not only the Mohegans, but all the other tribes of this part of New England, to accept the hospitality of the Mohawks, who had offered them a settlement on their territory. He made several journeys for this purpose; and in June, 1774, having exhausted all his means, he applied for assistance to the

* Allen's Biographical Dictionary.

governor and Assembly of Connecticut. The style of his communication, though ungrammatical and full of repetitions, is earnest and even affecting. He declared that he had received only eighteen shillings from the Indians, and that he expected nothing from them; as even those who were considered wealthy among their own people were in reality very poor. "Gentlemen," he continued, "the Indians is poor, very poor, even those who is thought to be forehanded men; and their poverty is the occasion of my applying to you. I have desired help from the Indians in time past, but all in vain; poverty hindered; and now gentlemen to whom shall I go but to your honors? I know not. If I find no favor from you, I must bow down my dejected head, and must return home ashamed and wait patiently for relief until Providence opens a door for relief in some other way. Gentlemen, I am poor as poor can be; and it is not my extravagancy that hath brought me to this unhappy condition. If I had been only contriving for my own good, by this time I might live very comfortably, for I have been very industrious, as I could with little pains sufficiently prove."*

Johnson's appeal obtained him six pounds from the Assembly; and Governor Trumbull gave him a certificate of his good character and the meritorious nature of his enterprise, to exhibit in other places. In the following December he preached, in the evening, at the old Presbyterian Church in New York, where a collection was taken up to assist him. A few days after, he issued a letter in one of the public papers, thanking the citizens for their kindness and liberality on the occasion. He

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 308.

expressed his determination, if God should make him a man of influence in the western tribes, to use that influence in establishing peace between them and his majesty's subjects. "And it is the purpose of my heart," he continues, "to instruct them in the things of your holy religion, according to the knowledge that is graciously granted me." It is interesting and even affecting, to see this man struggling on against deep poverty, and against the indolence and stupidity of the Indians, to accomplish a design which he believed would be beneficial to his scattered and unfortunate race.* What degree of success attended his efforts is uncertain; but he himself soon removed to New York, and resided there for several years as missionary among the Indians. He was living with the Six Nations at the opening of the revolutionary war. Washington, while at Cambridge, directing the siege of Boston, wrote him a letter dated the twentieth of February, 1776. "Tell the Indians," said he, "that we do not want them to take up the hatchet for us unless they choose it; we only desire that they will not fight against us. We want that the chain of friendship should always remain bright between our friends, the Six Nations, and us. We recommend you to them, and hope by spreading the truths of the gospel among them it will always keep the chain bright."†

Troubles were still rife among the Mohegans, partly concerning their government, partly about their lands. Zachary Johnson, Simon Choychoy and a few other old councilors were bent upon taking the administration into

* American Archives, A. D. 1774.

† Allen's Biographical Dictionary. Article, Joseph Johnson.

their own hands, since they could not secure such a sachem as they and the Assembly would approve. On the other side, the Mason Indians stubbornly refused to obey them, and would do nothing but what was right in their own eyes, or, which pleased them equally well, what was wrong in the eyes of the councilors. There was also another cause of difference. A number of Mohegans began, about this time, to pay some attention to tillage, and to keep small stocks of sheep and cattle. These individuals soon usurped a great part of the cleared lands; and, as a matter of course, their more idle and improvident neighbors became dissatisfied and began to complain. Several tracts, too, had been leased to white farmers, and the overseers were puzzled as to how they should dispose of the rents. Hitherto the sachem had received all these by right of his dignity; but now there was no sachem, and the greater part of the tribe were unwilling to appoint one. In fact, this little community was in a state of complete anarchy and confusion.*

Zachary Johnson and several of his party forwarded a memorial to the Assembly, asking for a committee to regulate their affairs, and denouncing a large part of their opponents as interlopers from other tribes who had no business among the Mohegans. A list of these foreigners was included, numbering six widows and twenty-one men, some of whom were with, and some without, families. Among the proscribed persons was Samson Occom. Zachary and his fellows presented another list of the true Mohegans, as they called them, numbering fourteen men with their families, and twenty-six other individuals, some

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Documents 310, 311, 312.

of whom were widows. In this catalogue were included the Uncases, the Johnsons, the Tantaquigeons, one Moses Mazeen, and a man named Johan, with his son, who had been adopted into the tribe on condition that, during his life, he should bury the Mohegan dead.*

In reply to the petition, a committee was sent to Mohegan, where it held a meeting with the overseers and a large number of the Indians. They found that the persons complained of as interlopers all seemed to be fairly connected with the tribe, either by blood or marriage; that the whole number of Mohegans, as near as they could find out, was forty families; that the children were numerous, and the population apparently increasing. A schoolmaster, supported by the Society for propagating the gospel in New England, was living among them. His salary was only twenty pounds; and, as it was evidently insufficient, the committee tried to persuade the Indians to grant him ten pounds additional out of the rents of the lands, but without success. They made a report to the Assembly of all these circumstances; and gave it as their opinion that new instructions and more authority should be granted to the overseers. A code of directions was accordingly formed, of which the following items were the most important. The overseers were instructed and empowered to prosecute trespassers upon the Mohegan lands. If the Indians trespassed upon each other, the overseers were to summon the parties, give judgment, award damages, and subtract the sum from the aggressor's share of the rents. If any Indian wanted land by himself, he was to apply to an overseer, who might set

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 315.

off for him a suitable tract. The money obtained by renting the land, after deducting the support of the poor and other public charges, was to be divided among the families of the tribe. No Indian might cut or carry away wood or stone, except for his own use, under penalty of such a fine as the overseer should choose to impose; never exceeding, however, three times the value of the articles carried away.*

Zachary Johnson and his brother councilors, still unsatisfied, sent a letter [October, 1774,] to their overseer, Mr. Coit of New London. Their principal motive seems to have been to complain of Occom, and prevent him from gaining the same influence with the overseers which he had obtained with the majority of the Mohegans. Their troubles, they said, had been growing worse ever since Occom came back to Mohegan. He was resolved to have the ordering of the Indian affairs, and especially of the rents. His followers threw down the fences, let the cattle into the corn, paid no regard to the councilors, and never would pay any regard to them until the authority of the latter was re-established by the Assembly. They wished Mr. Coit would see, they said, that the rent was paid only to those who had a right to it.†

Of the thirteen hundred and sixty-three Indians living in Connecticut in 1774 there were two hundred and six in New London, which then included Montville, sixty-one in Norwich, twenty-one in Lebanon, twenty-eight in Colchester and thirty in Preston; forming a total of three hundred and forty-six.‡ We have seen that the number

* Colonial Records, Vol. XI. Indian Papers, Vol. II, Doc'ts 312, 313.
† Indian Papers, Vol. II, Doc. 314. ‡ Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. X, p. 118.

in Groton and Stonington, the seats of the Pequots, was stated at four hundred and twenty-three; and I have already mentioned my suspicion that the estimate for Stonington (two hundred and thirty-seven) was greatly exaggerated. This seems all but certain now, on comparing it with the numbers of the Mohegans, who are known to have been a far more numerous tribe.

During the revolution, many of the Mohegans enlisted in the army of the colonies; and seventeen or eighteen of them died in the service, or were killed in battle. Perhaps no community in the land suffered so great a loss in proportion to its numbers; and yet, by an unjust and illiberal law, a shame and disgrace to the State of Connecticut, the descendants of these men are excluded by their color from the privileges and honors of American citizenship.

As the result of the revolution put an end to the hopes of the Masons, the Mohegans of their party had no longer any thing to gain by exhibiting dissatisfaction. Old quarrels, however, could not be healed at once; and, for many years, things continued on very much in the ancient style. The members of the disappointed faction usually did what they pleased; Zachary Johnson sent frequent complaints about them to the Assembly; and committees were repeatedly appointed to soothe the commotions of this stormy puddle. The land was, part of it, let out to English tenants, who were too apt to take unfair advantages of their position, by wasting the wood of the reservation, and pasturing their cattle over it without regard to the little planting spots of the Indians.*

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Documents 318—324.

In 1783, the overseers were empowered to divide all the unrented lands among the different families, and to forbid any stranger from settling upon the reservation without their consent. An order was also given that the old councilor, Zachary Johnson, and his wife, should be supplied, as long as they lived, with necessaries and comforts out of the avails of the lands.* The Mohegan patrimony was divided according to the Assembly's direction; but the Indians were too vicious and indolent to make much use of their farms; and very little ground has ever been cultivated in Mohegan except by the white tenantry.

In the year 1786, a few Mohegans, accompanied by Indians from other parts of Connecticut, from Rhode Island and from Long Island, removed to the Oneida country, and formed the nucleus of a clan which has since been known by the name of the Brothertown tribe. Samson Occom went with them, and was their minister for several years. At his death, which happened in July, 1792, more than three hundred Indians followed him to the grave. The funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, missionary among the Six Nations. The Mohegan preacher died, as he had lived, in the faith and practice of the Christian religion. In a few instances he was known to have given way to the prevailing vice of his countrymen, intemperance; but repentance and reformation seemed to testify that his soul had indeed been enlightened, although for a time it might be darkened by the power of temptation.†

There is a beautiful story told in the autobiography of

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Documents 326, 327.

† M'Clure's Life of Wheelock.

Trumbull, the Connecticut painter, about a Mohegan sachem, named Zachary, who effected in himself a remarkable reformation from long and deeply fixed habits of intemperance. I am sorry to question the exactness or weaken the interest of so pleasing an anecdote, but it certainly contains some great mistakes. The only individuals who ever held the Mohegan sachemship were Uncas, Oweneco, Cesar, Major Ben Uncas, Ben Uncas the second and Ben Uncas the third. After this last, the strongest claimant to the dignity was his son, Isaiah; and there was besides a rival named John Uncas: but neither these persons nor any others ever became sachems. At the very time, too, when Trumbull's interview with Zachary must have taken place, the last sachem Ben was still living, and in full possession of his dignity. My authorities for these statements are public documents, many of them reports of committees drawn up at the very time; and they are, of course, far more worthy of confidence than the recollections of any man concerning events which happened when he was ten years old. The individual to whom Trumbull's reminiscence refers, was unquestionably our old friend, Zachary Johnson, the principal councilor of the last Ben Uncas, and after his death the leading man among the Mohegans. He was sometimes, I believe, styled the regent of the tribe, and, as already mentioned, received in his latter days a support from the rents of the lands; but he did not belong to the royal family, and never became sachem. With these corrections I will relate the anecdote.

When John Trumbull was a little boy, his father Jonathan, for many years governor of the colony, em-

ployed a number of Mohegans in hunting animals for their furs. Among these hunters, and one of the most skillful of them, but at the same time an intemperate, thriftless fellow, was Zachary. Till he was fifty years old Zachary continued to be a drunkard; but then a wiser spell came over him, and from that time till his death, at the age of eighty, not one drop of the accursed spirit of alcohol ever passed his lips. In those days the annual ceremony of election was a matter of more consequence than it is now; and the Indians, especially, used to come in considerable numbers to Hartford or New Haven, to stare at the governor and the soldiers and the crowds of citizens as they entered those little cities. Jonathan Trumbull's house was about half-way between Mohegan and Hartford; and Zachary was in the habit of stopping, on his way to election, to dine with his old employer. John Trumbull, then about ten years old, had heard of the reformation of Zachary, and, partaking of the common contempt for the intemperate and worthless character of the Indians, did not entirely credit it. As the family were sitting around the dinner table, he resolved to test the sincerity of the visitor's temperance. Sipping some home-brewed beer which stood on the table, he said to the old man: "Zachary, this beer is excellent: wont you taste it?" The knife and fork dropped from the Indian's hand: he leaned forward with a stern intensity of expression: his dark eyes, sparkling with indignation, were fixed on the young tempter. "John," said he, "you don't know what you are doing. You are serving the devil, boy. Don't you know that I am an Indian? I tell you that I am; and if I should taste your beer I could never stop until I got

to rum, and became again the drunken contemptible wretch your father once knew me. *John, while you live never again tempt any man to break a good resolution.*"

"Socrates," continues Trumbull, "never uttered a more valuable precept. Demosthenes could not have given it in more solemn tones of eloquence. I was thunderstruck: my parents were deeply affected: they looked at each other, at me, and then with feelings of deep awe and respect at the venerable Indian. They afterwards frequently reminded me of the scene, and charged me never to forget it."*

It is to this same individual that the following passage copied by Barber from an old Norwich newspaper, doubtless refers.

"NORWICH, September 12th, 1787.

"Lately died at his wigwam in Powachaug, (Norwich,) old *Zachariah*, Regent of the Mohegan tribe of Indians, in the 100th year of his age. It is said, that in his younger years he was greatly addicted to drunkenness, but that for near 40 years past he has entirely abstained from the use of all spirituous liquors."†

Zachary, it seems, was one hundred years old when he died, according to one authority, and eighty years old according to another. Probably he did not himself know his age. The smallest number is, of course, the most probable.

In May, 1789, some of the Mohegans presented to the Assembly a memorial; which, being drawn up by some of themselves, is sufficiently remarkable in manner and

* Autobiography of John Trumbull, p. 6.
† Barber's Hist. Coll. of Connecticut, p. 300.

matter to deserve an insertion. It is styled, "A memorial of the Mohegans by the hands of their brothers, Henry Quaquaquid and Robert Ashpo.

"We beg leave to lay our concerns and burdens at your excellencies' feet. The times are exceedingly altered, yea the times are turned upside down; or rather we have changed the good times, chiefly by the help of the white people. For in times past our forefathers lived in peace, love and great harmony, and had every thing in great plenty. When they wanted meat, they would just run into the bush a little way, with their weapons, and would soon return, bringing home good venison, raccoon, bear and fowl. If they chose to have fish, they would only go to the river, or along the seashore; and they would presently fill their canoes with variety of fish, both scaled and shell-fish. And they had abundance of nuts, wild fruits, ground nuts and ground beans; and they planted but little corn and beans. They had no contention about their lands, for they lay in common; and they had but one large dish, and could all eat together in peace and love. But alas! it is not so now; all our hunting and fowling and fishing is entirely gone. And we have begun to work our land, keep horses and cattle and hogs; and we build houses and fence in lots. And now we plainly see that one dish and one fire will not do any longer for us. Some few there are that are stronger than others; and they will keep off the poor, weak, the halt and blind, and will take the dish to themselves. Yea, they will rather call the white people and the mulattoes to eat out of our dish; and poor widows and orphans must be pushed aside, and there they must sit, crying and starving, and

die. And so we are now come to our good brethren of the Assembly, with hearts full of sorrow and grief, for immediate help. And therefore our most humble and earnest request is, that our dish of suckutash may be equally divided amongst us, so that every one may have his own little dish by himself, that he may eat quietly and do with his dish as he pleases, that every one may have his own fire."*

A committee, appointed in reply to this curious and original petition, reported that the affairs of the Mohegans were in such order as to render further interference at that time unnecessary.

In 1790, the land of the tribe still amounted to about two thousand seven hundred acres. The religious teacher of the community was one of its own members, named John Cooper. He was also the richest man in the tribe; being in possession of two cows and a yoke of oxen.

Two of the name of Uncas, John and Noah, were still living, about the year 1800. After their death, the little remains of spirit and national pride which the Mohegans retained rapidly disappeared. The practice of the bow and arrow was thrown aside, and not a single Indian custom remained, except that of occasionally discussing their affairs in council.†

After this period, various little difficulties occurred at times with the whites, and various small sales of land were authorized by the Assembly; but nothing worthy of record took place for more than a quarter of a century, when the slender hands of woman were put forth to raise

* Indian Papers, Vol. II, Document 230.

† Kendall's Travels in the United States, Vol. I, p. 308.

the Mohegans from their depth of ignorance and degradation. The individual to whom I allude was Miss Sarah L. Huntington of Norwich, afterwards wife of the Rev. Eli Smith of the American Syrian mission. The interesting memoirs of this lady have made her name widely known throughout the community, and given an admirable picture of her deep piety, her strength of character and her self-sacrificing efforts for the good of her race. Living within a few miles of the Mohegans, she became, about the year 1827, strongly interested in the condition of this forlorn remnant of the aborigines of Connecticut. This interest was shared by another female of similar spirit, Miss Sarah Breed of Norwich, afterwards wife of President Allen of Bowdoin College, and now, like Mrs. Smith, gone to her eternal rest. By the summer of 1830, these two ladies had established a Sabbath school at Mohegan, for the Indian children, which they taught by turns; walking, for that purpose, from their homes in Norwich, a distance of five or six miles. The school was, at first, opened in a house occupied by the relatives of Samson Occom. His sister, Lucy Tantaquigeon, wife of John Tantaquigeon, died there the previous winter, in the midst of her descendants, at the age of ninety-eight. As could have been wished for the sister of Samson Occom, she expressed on her death-bed the desire, "that she might go where she should sin no more."

In a few months Miss Breed resigned her post as teacher, and was succeeded by Miss Raymond of Montville. A daily school was established in a house situated on what is called the Fort Hill farm, not far from where now stands the Mohegan chapel. This school Miss Hun-

tington and Miss Raymond taught by alternate weeks; both of them remaining at Mohegan on the Sabbath, so as to assist each other in conducting the religious exercises of the day. Eighteen or twenty scholars, three or four of them adults, usually attended the day school; and the females, besides instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, were taught millinery, dress-making and tailoring.

Miss Huntington was not contented with these personal efforts at teaching the Mohegans, but exerted herself to obtain such assistance as should secure to them steady and public religious instruction. In this she was assisted by Miss Breed, who soon, however, removed to a distant part of the country; by Joseph Williams, Esq., of Norwich, and by other benevolent individuals of that city. A plan was set on foot, to build a chapel for the Indians, and hire a missionary who should settle permanently among them. Subscription lists were circulated by Miss Breed and Miss Huntington, and, in this manner, several hundred dollars were collected. Efforts were also made to interest the American Board for Foreign Missions, the government of the State of Connecticut and the general government at Washington, in the design. Miss Huntington drew up a petition to the Legislature of Connecticut, and wrote a letter to Jeremiah Evarts, Corresponding Secretary of the American Board. The petition, with numerous signatures attached, was presented to the Assembly; but seems to have met with no very favorable reception, and was, at all events, unsuccessful in its principal object, of obtaining an appropriation. Nor did the Board of Missions feel justified in offering assistance;

considering the small number of the Mohegans, and the feeble influence which they were likely to exercise, either upon the white population, or upon any considerable portions of their own race. Two applications by Mr. Williams, and one by Miss Huntington, were made to the Secretary of War, to whose department the superintendence of Indian affairs belonged. These appeals were successful; and, from the "fund for promoting the civilization of the Indians," five hundred dollars were appropriated [1831] for the erection of buildings at Mohegan, and an equal amount annually for the support of a teacher.



South View of the Mohegan Chapel, Montville.

The first named sum was expended in building a house for the teacher; the cost of the chapel being defrayed by the private subscriptions obtained in Norwich. The land on which the chapel was built was given by two Mohegan females, Cynthia Hoscoat and Lucy Tee-Comme-

waws. One hundred dollars were contributed by the Home Missionary Society; and this sum, with the appropriation from the general government, was sufficient to hire a capable teacher. In one year from the commencement of the effort, Miss Huntington could write to her old friend, Miss Breed, that the Mohegans were provided with "a chapel, a stated ministry, and the means for its support."

Among the feelings which Miss Huntington found among the Mohegans were surprise that the whites should pay any attention to their wants after having so long neglected them, and suspicion that their present conduct was prompted entirely by some selfish and dishonest motive. At one time, indeed, a number of evil disposed persons succeeded in somewhat diminishing the little congregation at the chapel, by circulating a report that the expenses of these religious efforts were defrayed out of the rents of the Mohegan lands. This, however, did not last long, and, on proper explanations, the confidence of the Indians soon returned. They would sometimes talk of "the good meetings and beautiful singing" which they had many years before; referring, probably, to the time when, fifty years previous, Samson Occom and Joseph Johnson had preached here among their own people. Many of the children showed acute and eager minds; a religious interest, too, began to appear in the community; and, during the course of the year, Miss Huntington and her fellow laborers were gratified by several conversions.

In the spring or summer of 1831, the chapel was finished; and, not long after, the Rev. Anson Gleason was secured as chaplain of the Mohegans, and pastor over the

little church of mingled Indians and whites. A temperance society was formed; several drunkards were reclaimed; and many other members of the community were induced to put their names to the pledge. Miss Huntington and Miss Raymond were, before this, relieved from their labors as teachers; and the school was delivered into the charge of a man hired for the purpose.*

In a letter of Mr. Gleason's, written September the thirtieth, 1842, and directed to the Secretary of War, some particulars are given of the condition of the Mohegans at that period. The school had been kept up, as usual, during the previous year, and then numbered two girls and nine boys. An excellent teacher was employed, who taught reading, writing, arithmetic, composition, grammar, history and needle work. Some of the former scholars, now grown up and settled in life, had, during the last winter, become hopefully pious, and were useful members of society. Several of the older natives, also, hitherto more or less intemperate, had become affected by the Washingtonian movement, had forsaken their cups, and some of them had even become members of the church.†

In 1845, the school contained eight boys and ten girls, whose proficiency Mr. Gleason thought fully equal to that of the white children in the schools of the neighborhood. One little girl was studying the Latin Reader and making very commendable progress. Sunday school and the ordinary services on the Sabbath were regularly kept up. Some of the native professors of religion sustained a high

* For the above particulars concerning the effort for the Mohegans, see the Memoirs of Sarah L. Smith, Chap. VI.

† Executive Documents for 1842–3.

Christian character, and would have been ornaments to any church. A singing master had lately been employed; several of the Indian youth exhibited a good taste for that pleasing study; and one of the young men officiated, to very general satisfaction, as leader of the church choir. The number of members in the church was forty; but only thirteen of them were Mohegans; and of these thirteen only three were men. Two women had died, giving good evidence of piety. One woman had been excommunicated.*

Down to 1845, sums of four hundred or five hundred dollars were annually granted to the Mohegan church, out of the Civilization Fund established by the general government. It was then concluded, either that a society numbering so large a proportion of whites should do more to support itself, or that four hundred dollars was too large an appropriation for a community so small and so uninfluential as the Mohegans. It was therefore reduced to one hundred dollars.† The effect of this measure was that Mr. Gleason, unable to support his family on his diminished income, was obliged to leave the place. Within a year or two back, the Rev. Mr. Sterry has been engaged as pastor of the church, and has likewise officiated as the teacher of the Indian school. The school has somewhat diminished of late years, and now [1849] contains but ten or twelve scholars.

The present amount of the Mohegan reservation is about two thousand three hundred acres; of which four hundred and sixty acres are used by the Indians, six or

* Executive Documents. Memoirs of Mrs. Smith, p. 126.

† Executive Documents.

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APPENDIX.

ARTICLE I, p. 40.

English.	*Massachusetts.*	*Narragansett.*	*Mohican.*	*Pequot.*	*Naugatuck Indian*
Man	wosketomp	nnin	neemanaoo		rinh
Woman	mittamwosses	squaws	p'ghainoom		wenih
Ear	wehtauog	wuttouwog	towahgue	cuttuwaneage†	
Eye-	wuskesuk, (pl.)	wuskesuk, (pl.)	ukeesquan	skeezucks, (pl.)	
Nose	wutch		okeewon	kuchijage	
Mouth	nuttoon (my)	wuttone	otoun	cuttoneege	
Teeth	meepit	weepit, (his)	wpeeton	neebut, (sing.)	
House	wetu	wetu	wekuwuhm	wigwam	
Shoes	mokissonah	mocussinass	mkissin	muckasons	
Sun	nepaus	nippawus	keesogh	meun	
Moon	nepaushdt	manepaushat	neepauhauck	weyhan	
Day	kesukod	wompau	waukaumauw		keesoop
Night	nukon	tuppaco*	t'pochk		toof-ku
Fire	nutau	squtta	staauw	yewt	ru'uh-tah
Water	nippe	nip	nbey	nupp	nuppeh
Rain	sokanunk	sokenum	thockaaun	sokghean	
Snow	koon	sockepo	msauneeh	souck'poun	
Tree	mehtug	mintuck	machtok	mattuck, (pl.)	tookh
Dog	anum	anum	n'dijau (?)	nahteah	
Bear	mosq		mquch	awausseeus	awaususe
River	sepu	seip	sepoo		sepu
One	nequt	nquit	ngwittoh	nuquut	
Two	neese	neesse	neesoh	neeze	
Three	nish	nish	noghkoh	shweh	
Four	yaw	yoh	nauwoh	yauh	
Five	napanna	napanna	nunon	nuppau	
Six	nequttatash	qutta	ngwittus	nucquuddoak	
Seven	nesausuk	enada	tupouwus	nezzaugnak	
Eight	shawosuk	shwosuck	ghusooh	shwausk	
Nine	paskoogun	paskugit	nauneeweh	pauzsacougen	
Ten	puik	piuck	mtannit	piugg	

* toward night.

† what you hear by.

ARTICLE II, p. 140.

It is quite superfluous to attempt to prove that Mason and his companions were actuated, on this occasion, by some emotions of vengeance, since such must infallibly have been the case as long as human nature retains her present imperfections. I give, however, some extracts in point from Underhill and Vincent, two of the historians of the expedition. "It may be demanded," observes Underhill, "why should you be so furious? (as some have said.) Should not Christians have more mercy and compassion? But I would refer you to David's war. When a people is grown to such a height of *blood*, and sin against God and man, and all confederates in the action, there he hath no respect to persons, but harrows them and saws them, and puts them to the sword, and the most terriblest death that may be."

Underhill's principal justification of the massacre, indeed, is a comparison of it with the tremendous executions inflicted by the Hebrews upon the idolatrous Canaanites; but Vincent's observations are directly to the point. "At break of day the seventy English gave the fort a volley of shot, whereat the salvages within made a hideous and pitiful cry; the shot, without all question, flying through the palisadoes (which stood not very close) and killing or wounding some of them. Pity had hindered further hostile proceedings, had not the remembrance of the bloodshed, the captive maids, and cruel insolency of those Pequots, hardened the hearts of the English, and stopped their ears unto their cries. Mercy mars all sometimes; severe justice must now and then take place."

ARTICLE III, p. 132.

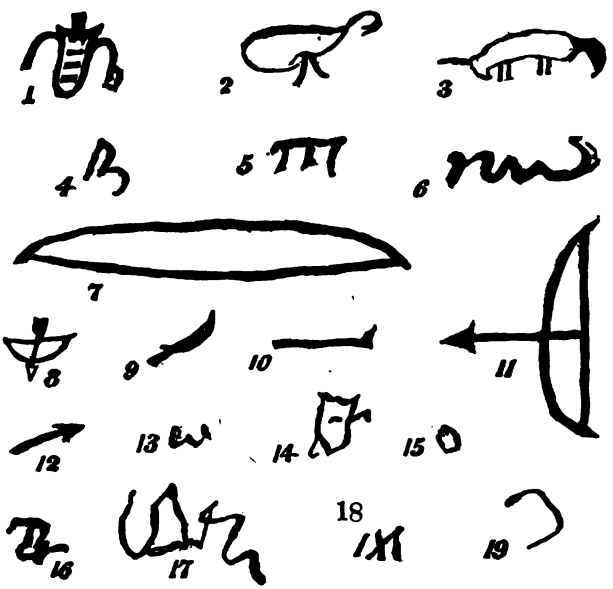
The account which Hubbard has given us of the contest with the Pequots is one of the most ferocious things in

American literature. He describes the helpless overthrows and frightful massacres of that unhappy people, with a complacency and satisfaction which might have excited the envy of father Valverde. He lived in a stern and iron age; he wrote at the close of the bloody and exasperating war with Philip; and the asperities of his character were sharpened by an enthusiasm which in these days would be called fanatical. He regarded the New England Puritans as, in an especial manner, the Lord's people; and he looked upon their enemies as the Lord's enemies, and as worthy of no greater mercy than extermination. Very different was his character from that of the mild tempered Gookin, and his elder brothers in the missionary work, Mayhew and Eliot. I have made but little use of the narrative of Hubbard with regard to the Pequot war, because he was not a cotemporary author, and because I believe the story to be exaggerated and over-colored by the vindictive feelings of the writer. For the sake of fairness, however, as well as to exhibit a passage of unmeant pathos, I here give his account of the victory at the Fairfield swamp. I do not vouch for its correctness; and neither will I vouch for its incorrectness.

"A little before daybreak, (by reason of the fog which useth to arise about that time, observed to be the darkest time of the night,) twenty or thirty of the lustiest of the enemy broke through the besiegers and escaped away into the woods, some by violence, and some by stealth cropping away, some of whom notwithstanding were killed in the pursuit; the rest were left to the mercy of the conquerors, of which many were killed in the swamp like sullen dogs that would rather in their self-willedness and madness sit still and be shot to pieces than receive their lives for asking at the hand of those into whose power they were now fallen. Some that are yet living and worthy of credit do affirm, that in the morning, entering into the swamp they saw several heaps of them sitting close to

gether, upon whom they discharged their pieces laden with ten or twelve pistol bullets at a time, putting the muzzles under the boughs within a few yards of them; so as besides those that were found dead (near twenty as was judged) many more were killed and sunk in the mire, and never were minded more by friend or foe."—*Narrative of Indian Wars, pp.* 47, 48.

ARTICLE IV, p. 164.



Indian Autographs.

1, UNCAS. 2, OWENECO. 3, ATTAWANHOOD. 4, MAJOR BEN UNCAS. 5, MAMOHET, (son of Oweneco.) 6, MAHACHEMO. 7, MOMAUGUIN. 8, ANSANTAWAE. 9, TONTONIMO, (of Milford.) 10, SHAUMPISHUH. 11, MONTOWESE. 12, ACKENACH. 13, PETHUS. 14, AHAMO. 15, NASSAHEGON. 16, CASSASINAMON. 17, HERMONGARRET. 18, WERAUMAUG. 19, CATOONAH.

ARTICLE V, p. 183.

"September 28th, 1640. This writing witnesseth that I, Uncas, alias Poquaiom, sachem of the Mohegans, have given and freely granted unto the governor and magistrates of the English upon Connecticut River, all the land that doth belong, or ought of right to belong, to me, by what name soever it be called, whether Moheegan, Yomtake, Aquapanksuks, Pork-stannocks, Wippawocks, Massapeake or any other; which they may forever hereafter dispose of as their own, either by settling plantations of the English there, or otherwise, as shall seem good to them; reserving only for my own use that ground which at present is planted and in that kind improved by us; and I do hereby promise and engage myself not to suffer, so far as I have power, any English or any other to set down or plant within any of those limits which before this grant did belong to me, without the consent or approbation of the said magistrates or Governor at Connecticut aforesaid—and this I do upon mature consideration and good advice, freely and without any constraint, in witness whereof I hereunto put my hand.

The mark of Poquaiom alias Uncas.

"In presence of Thomas Stanton.
The mark of Poxen alias Foxon.

"The said English did also freely give to the said Uncas five and a half yards Trucking Cloth, with Stockings and other things, as a gratuity.

"A true copy of Record.
Examined by George Wyllys, Secretary.

"This is a true copy of a copy examined by Daniel Huntington, Jun., Clerk of the court of Commissioners."

ARTICLE VI, p. 460.

When the Mohegans shall have totally disappeared from the earth, if such a time ever comes, there will probably still remain one monument of their national existence. A little ways from the city of Norwich, towards the north, stands the royal cemetery of the tribe, containing the graves of several of the family of Uncas. The cemetery is a small parallelogram, and is surrounded by an inclosure of granite posts connected by chains. Within this, stand or lie the rude grave stones of the dead; and, towering above the others, rises a monument erected a few years since by the ladies of Norwich to the memory of Uncas. The cost of the monument, with that of the fencing, was, I have been informed, about four hundred dollars. Its material is granite; its shape is a plain obelisk standing on a pedestal; and on one side of it is cut in large raised letters the simple inscription of UNCAS. The monument itself, and the condition in which the cemetery is now placed, are both highly creditable to the citizens, and more especially to the ladies, of this charming little city. Uncas was not indeed a good man, or a beneficent ruler; but he was as deserving a monument as the greater part of the kings and princes who have appeared in the world; and he was a steady and unflinching friend to the fathers of the city of Norwich, as well as to all of the colonists of New England. The monument is creditable, I said; but Norwich has erected still nobler monuments than this: in the labors of Fitch for the conversion of the Mohegans, and in the more modern efforts of Miss Huntington and her friends. These are monuments which will not perish, like granite, but will endure even when time shall be no longer.

Of the other graves in the inclosure, some are, and some are not, marked by stones; and two or three of the stones have

been so broken that the inscriptions are now difficult to decipher. By the aid, however, of a transcription of them which was made some time ago, and which was kindly lent me by Mrs. Goddard, who resides next to the cemetery, I am enabled to offer the following copy of these epitaphs to the reader.

SAMUEL UNCAS.

For Beauty wit for sterling Sense
For temper mild for Eliquence
For Couradg Bold For things Wauregeon*
He was the Glory of Mohedgon
Whose Death has Caused great lamantation
Both in ye English & ye Indian Nation.

HERE LIES THE BODYES OF TWO INFANT CHILDREN OF BENJAMIN UNCAS JUN AND OF ANN UNCAS OF YE ROYAL BLOOD—ONE DIED NOV. YE 8th 1738 YE OTHER DEC. YE 10th.

HERE LIES YE BODY OF POMPI UNCAS SON OF BENJAMIN AND ANN UNCAS AND OF YE ROYAL BLOOD WHO DYED MAY YE 1 IN 1740 IN YE 21 YEAR OF HIS AGE.

HERE LIES SAM UNCAS THE SECOND AND BELOVED SON OF HIS FATHER JOHN UNCAS WHO WAS THE GRANDSON OF UNCAS, GRAND SACHEM OF MOHEGAN. THE DARLING OF HIS MOTHER BEING DAUGHTER OF SAID UNCAS GRAND SACHEM. HE DIED JULY 31st 1741 IN THE 28th OF HIS AGE.

* Fine things—good clothes, ornaments, furniture, etc.

IN MEMORY OF YONG SEASAR IONUS* WHO DIED APRIL. 30th 1749 IN THE 28th YEAR OF HIS AGE AND WAS COUSIN TO UNCAS.

In Memory of Elizabeth Joquiib the Daughter of Mohomet great grand Child to ye first Vncaus Sachem of mohagen Who Died July ye 5th 1756 Aged 33 yeara.

In Memory of Elizebeth Begneott Great grand child of Uncas Sachem of mohegan Who Died on ye 20th A. D. 1761 Aged 14 years.

* Probably a *c* has slipped from this word, so that it should be read IONCUS.

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